

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION REVIEW

The official organ of the Comparative Education Society

Vol. 5, No. 2

October 1961

| | | |
|--|----------------------------|-----|
| <i>Editorial</i> | <i>C. T. H.</i> | 81 |
| The Meeting of East and West in Educational History | <i>William W. Brickman</i> | 82 |
| Some Old and New Approaches to Methodology in Comparative Education | <i>Andreas M. Kazamias</i> | 90 |
| Education as Investment in Comparative Education | <i>John Vaisey</i> | 97 |
| The Education of Europeans in South Africa | <i>David Munroe</i> | 105 |
| African Aspirations for Education in Rural Natal | <i>P. D. Hey</i> | 112 |
| Quality and Equality in Canadian Education | <i>Paul Nash</i> | 118 |
| Contemporary Finnish School Legislation | <i>O. K. Kyöstiö</i> | 130 |
| Land Tenure and Public School Enrollment in the Philippines | <i>Quirico S. Samonte</i> | 136 |
| Study Abroad: A Bibliography | <i>Liselotte Schmidt</i> | 142 |
| <i>Book Reviews</i> | | 156 |

Editor: George Z. F. Bereday; Acting Editor: Chang-Tu Hu

Business Editor: Gerald H. Read

Assistant Editor: Katherine M. Gilroy; Assistant Business Editor: Henry J. Perkinson

Editorial Office: Teachers College, Columbia University, New York 27, N. Y.

Business Office: Kent State University, Kent, Ohio

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION REVIEW

Vol. 5, No. 2, October 1961

EDITORIAL BOARD

JAMES BRYANT CONANT

NICHOLAS HANS

FRANZ HILKER

ISAAC L. KANDEL

JOSEPH A. LAUWERYS

PEDRO ROSSELLÓ

FRIEDRICH SCHNEIDER

ROBERT ULICH

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION REVIEW is issued three times a year in June, October, and February. The subscription is \$3.00 per year; single issues are \$1.00 each, 75 cents in quantities. Publication Offices, 525 West 120th Street, New York 27, New York; and 1227 Fairview Drive, Kent, Ohio. Editorial Office, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York 27, N. Y. Business Office, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio. Printed in U.S.A.

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION REVIEW is the official journal of the Comparative Education Society, an organization of scholars and teachers of Comparative Education, founded in 1956 to advance the knowledge and teaching of this subject.

The Executive Committee of the Society includes: Joseph Katz, Professor of Education, University of British Columbia, President; George A. Male, Specialist in Comparative Education (Western Europe), U. S. Office of Education, Vice President; Gerald H. Read, Professor of Theoretical Foundations of Education, Kent State University, Executive Secretary-Treasurer of the Society and Business Edi-

tor of COMPARATIVE EDUCATION REVIEW; George Z. F. Bereday, Professor of Comparative Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, Editor of COMPARATIVE EDUCATION REVIEW; and William H. E. Johnson, Professor of Education, University of Pittsburgh, Past President of the Society.

The Board of Directors of the Society includes: C. Arnold Anderson, Professor of Education and Sociology and Director, Comparative Education Center, University of Chicago; William W. Brickman, Professor of Education, New York University; George S. Counts, Distinguished Service Professor of Education, Michigan State University; Beas Goodykoon, Director, International Educational Relations, U. S. Office of Education; Edmund King, Lecturer in Comparative Education, King's College, University of London; Frederic Lige, Professor of Education, University of California, Berkeley; David G. Scanlon, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University; and Howard Wilson, Professor of Education and Dean, College of Education, University of California, Los Angeles.

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Leo Orleans, *Professional Manpower and Education in Communist China*, reviewed by Joseph C. Kun

Ph. J. Idenburg, *Schets Van Het Nederlandse Schoolwezen*, reviewed by Donald J. Weeren

H. W. F. Stellwag and P. C. van de Griend, *De Leraarsopleiding: Knelpunt Of Raakvlak*

Tussen Universiteit En V.H.M.O., reviewed by Donald J. Weeren

Anthony J. C. Kerr, *Schools of Europe*, reviewed by Brian Holmes

156

157

157

159

REVIEW;
compara-
olumbia
Educa-
on, Pro-
tsburgh,

ciety in-
of Edu-
compara-
Chicago;
ducation,
nts, Dis-
ducation,
ykoontz,
elations,
ing, Lee-
g's Col-
ic Liga,
Califor-
fessor of
bia Uni-
of Edu-
on, Uni-

156
en 157
157
159

for
So
en
cu
C

Begin
EDUCA
of the
day u
in the
will co
and e
ing th
that m
Society
will p
necessa
to cons
has so

In c
Internat
the Com
ganized
western
academ
W. Brice
on prev
tive resp
public a
the pos
hand str
differen
one may
tion Soc
—the N
the Uni
seminar
"Reform
Educatio
Educatio
consente
program
Novemb
the same
the Socie
similar s
where ed
ing worl

It is in
formation
Society in
ence in L
curatory c

Comparat

EDITORIAL

Beginning with this issue, COMPARATIVE EDUCATION REVIEW will be without benefit of the editorship of Dr. George Z. F. Bereday until he returns from sabbatical leave in the fall of 1962. While the Acting Editor will certainly continue to receive guidance and encouragement from Dr. Bereday during the coming year, it is earnestly hoped that members of the Comparative Education Society and readers of the REVIEW at large will provide the Acting Editor with the necessary support and assistance with a view to consolidating the gains which Dr. Bereday has so painstakingly achieved.

In collaboration with the Commission on International Education of Phi Delta Kappa, the Comparative Education Society again organized a seminar and field study in Northwestern Europe this past summer, under the academic directorship of Professor William W. Brickman. Professor Gerald H. Read, as on previous occasions, assumed administrative responsibilities. Because of an increasing public awareness of the importance of and the positive results derived from such firsthand studies of educational developments in different parts of the world—an awareness, one may add, which the Comparative Education Society has spared no efforts in creating—the National School Board Association of the United States has decided to conduct a seminar and field study in Europe, with "Reforms and Policy-Making in European Education" as its theme. The Comparative Education Society has been asked and has consented to serve as co-sponsor of this program, which is scheduled to begin on November 10, 1961, ending on the 27th of the same month. For the summer of 1962, the Society has made tentative plans for a similar seminar and field study in Africa, where educational developments are attracting world-wide attention.

It is indeed gratifying to note the recent formation of the Comparative Education Society in Europe which held its first conference in London in the early part of May. A cursory examination of the list of partici-

pants shows that comparative educators from twelve European countries were present at the conference, and that the non-European countries of Canada, Japan, and the United States were also represented. The three-day conference signalled the auspicious beginning of another international organization devoted to comparative education; and the election of Professor J. A. Lauwerys as Chairman, Professors P. J. Idenburg and P. Rosselló as Vice-Chairmen, and Mr. Brian Holmes as Secretary-Treasurer, will ensure not only the success of this newly formed Society but also continued cooperation between Europe and America.

In Japan, the Research Institute of Comparative Education and Culture of Kyushu University, located in Fukuoka, in May issued its ninth research bulletin—a special issue devoted to the study of moral education. Three monographs make up the special issue. In Japan this problem has been highly controversial in recent years; the publication of these monographs will enable comparative educators the world over to gain further insight into and understanding of the nature and scope of the problem.

There can be little doubt that a new era is dawning for comparative educators. Educational activities of an international nature have become more numerous and are more extensive in scope, a development that will inevitably make greater demands on those who make the study of comparative education their chief concern. The program undertaken at Teachers College, Columbia University, to train American teachers for areas in East Africa is indicative of the new trend, which has been succinctly described in an article by Gertrude Samuels in *The New York Times Magazine* of August 20, 1961. There is ample evidence to support the belief that comparative educators will be called upon more often to contribute their special knowledge to the implementation of international education programs.

C. T. H.

THE MEETING OF EAST AND WEST IN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN

Orient and Occident sind nicht mehr zu trennen.—JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE, *West-östlicher Divan*.

When in December 1956 the UNESCO General Conference at New Delhi adopted the major project on the "Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values," it called the attention of the world to one of the most serious gaps in the intellectual development of the human race. Fortunately, we are now better aware of the necessity of knowledge as the basis for appreciation and understanding. There are signs of activity which give promise of progress.

Just as East-West relationships have not been studied sufficiently in general history and related areas, they have been neglected in educational history and other basic subjects in the field of education. To what extent, if any, the forthcoming six-volume work on the "History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind" will be concerned with the history of international educational relations in general, or with the history of East-West educational relations in particular, the writer does not know. However, it is appropriate to indicate the outlines of the historical educational contacts between the Orient and the Occident. Perhaps the awareness that these relationships go far back into history will facilitate East-West contacts today.

Ancient India and China

The fact that the peoples of the East and West were more or less in touch with each other for the greater part of recorded history is quite well known. One of the earliest cultural meetings involved the Indian and the Greeks worlds. The Panchatantra fables were translated from Sanskrit into Persian during the reign of Cyrus the Great (550–

529 B.C.), then into Babylonian, and finally into Greek. It may be that Aesop's writings may have had their ultimate origin in India. The "Arabian Nights," at a later date, served as the transmission belt whereby Indian tales entered into European literature.

Although the function of Buddhism as the cultural link between India and the Far East is familiar, its ties to the West are generally not. King Asoka the Great (273–232 B.C.), a convert from Brahmanism who has been described by historians as the "St. Paul" and the "Constantine" of Buddhism, sent missionaries even to Hellenistic territories, especially to Egypt. During his reign of more than forty years, Asoka was engaged in a single war of conquest, but his disgust at the slaughter of war influenced him to embrace Buddhism and to issue his edict for world peace. Too few of both the East and the West are aware of the greatness of Asoka.

The most significant success of ancient India in the fields of international culture and education was the export of Buddhism to China and other Asiatic countries. The role of the University of Nalanda as an international center of learning in this respect has unfortunately remained largely unknown in the Western intellectual circles. This international university flourished from A.D. 450 until about the end of the twelfth century, at which time the West European universities were getting under way. There seems to be no evidence of the connection between the Indian and the European institutions, but the latter could very well have learned considerably from what has been called the "Oxford of Buddhist India."

Apart from Buddhism, which involved contacts with the Far East and Southeast Asia, India reached out at various times to maintain a two-way traffic in ideas with the

West. The broad curriculum of the oldest Indian university, Taxila (Takshasila), which existed from 600 B.C., to about A.D. 250, attracted foreign students. During the Hellenistic era, possibly because of the occupation of northern India by the Greeks, students could pursue Greek studies. Persian, a borderline language, may have been taught at Taxila from the date of its founding. The presence of students from Asia Minor and the university's insistence that graduates take a trip to foreign countries may also have aided in the exchange of ideas between East and West.

One can trace the exchange of philosophical, scientific, and literary ideas between India and Western countries during ancient times, but with more difficulty during the medieval period. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, when England took control of India, the culture of the latter began to interest the West once more. The translator of the Code of Manu and the Sakuntala of Kalidasa, Sir William Jones (1746-1794), was also the initiator of Sanskrit studies in Europe. The knowledge of Sanskrit was the key to the development of comparative philology, which became a strong university subject during the nineteenth century, particularly in Germany.

China and the West

Chinese relations with the West go back to the seventh century B.C., but the distance and the complexity of the Chinese language conspired to keep the Europeans ignorant of the teachings of Lao-Tzu (born 604 B.C.), Confucius (522-479 B.C.), and Mencius (372-289 B.C.). Few, if any, outside of the Orient knew of the idea of universal peace based on love which Mo-Ti propounded about 400 B.C.

Definite contacts between China and the West apparently did not begin until the Christian era, when the China-Rome silk trade was conducted through Antioch. Slowly, curiosity about China began to mount in Western countries. In time, there appeared accounts, based on Turkish sources, of life in China by Byzantine Greeks. One such work was published in A.D. 650 by

Siomcatta, an Egyptian Greek. The penetration of China by Nestorian Christian missionaries, circa 635 (T'ang Dynasty), marked the start of more familiarity among Asians of Western ideas. The Nestorians, incidentally, also established missions in India, and Central Asia.

The T'ang Dynasty was probably the most cosmopolitan period in Chinese thought. Not only did Chinese scholars journey to India to bring Buddhism to the Far East, but China itself attracted Western admirers. Greeks, Persians, Japanese, and South Asians interacted intellectually with the Chinese in their homeland.

From the early tenth until the end of the thirteenth century, the Chinese had but few connections with the West. One exception was the trade relationship with the Arabs, who had many links with European countries.

With the arrival of Niccolo, Maffeo, and Marco Polo in 1264, and later from 1275 to 1292, China again resumed cultural relations with the West. During the first trip, Kublai Khan, the Mongol emperor, appointed the Polo family to represent him diplomatically at the Papal Court with the special mission of requesting the Pontiff to send to China a hundred scholars as missionaries—teachers of religion, science, and the arts. In spite of all their efforts, the Polos were not successful in initiating such a program. However, they were instrumental in re-establishing Christianity as a religion in China. The Church at Cambaluc (Peking) existed from 1293 to 1368.

"The Book of Marco Polo," originally dictated to a friend, served as a source of information to many countries in the West about China in particular and Asia in general. The medieval Europeans learned to admire the Great Khan, but they were not prepared to emulate his example of tolerance—the employment of persons without regard to race and religion.

Beginning with the fourteenth century, the Franciscan friars preached in China, while the Jesuits appeared on the scene at the end of the sixteenth century. Perhaps the most influential of the Jesuits was Matteo

Ricci, an Italian who interpreted the West to China and vice versa. Another Jesuit, Anastasius Kircher, the German pansophist who drew upon the writings of Marco Polo and other travelers, published a study in 1667 under the title, "China Monumentis, qua Sacris qua Profanis . . . Illustrata." This volume, which was published in Amsterdam, provided the background for Catholic missionaries working in China. Included in this book were not only descriptions of the resources and culture of China, but also a complete account of the history of relationships between China and the West. Kircher's "China . . . Illustrata" proved to be more than an informational handbook; it also stimulated Sinological studies and Far Eastern geographical studies in England and elsewhere. The Sinologists made Confucius, Mencius, and Lao-Tse available in Western languages, especially in the late eighteenth century. After the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, Chinese students entered European and American universities.

Asia Minor as an Intermediary

In Asia Minor, a natural path of contact between East and West, the Greeks and the Macedonians played an important part. Alexander the Great's role as a unifier of East and West is rather familiar. After his conquests, his thoughts turned to the brotherhood of man and the unity of mankind. The population of the City of Alexandria, which he founded, was made up of Persians, Indians, Negroes, Greeks, Egyptians, Italians, Jews, and Syrians. In communicating with each other by means of the Koine as the lingua franca, they undoubtedly taught each other a great deal. The library and the museum of Alexandria served as centers of international intellectual interaction, it is true, but the Alexandrian streets and markets served the same purpose.

The Hellenistic University of Athens was an international institution of higher learning long before the West European universities came into being. Its students were divided into "nations," as the medieval students were to be a millennium or so later. Among the representatives from the East

were students from Syria, Arabia, and Armenia.

The Jews were also important intermediaries. The Jews contributed to this heritage the Bible, which reached the remotest recesses of both East and West. Among its various teachings, one must single out the concept of universal peace as expressed by two prophets—Isaiah and Micah. The idea of the unity and peace of mankind thus appears in various cultures in the Far East, the Middle East, and the West, in the last-named instance in the writings of the Roman Emperor, Marcus Aurelius. Through the influence of the Old Testament on the New Testament, the impact of Jewish ideas was felt in the Far East and elsewhere in Asia. The influence of the Bible on the Koran, moreover, enabled Jewish and Christian thought to penetrate various regions in Asia and Africa. Through their travels and wanderings, they linked directly West Europe with Arabia and Persia.

The Nestorians' role in propagating Christianity has been referred to in passing. As far back as the fifth century, Bishop Ibas trained missionaries for service in India and China. Edessa Nestorians translated the writings of Aristotle, Galen, and other Greeks into Syriac. The Nestorian Schools of Nisibis in Syria spread Greek science and philosophy into other areas of the Middle East. Of special significance in this respect were the labors of the two Nestorian physicians, George Bachtichou and Abu Zaid Hunain ibn Ishaq (Joannitus). The latter (809-877) became director of the school of Nestorian translators founded by the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil, collected, translated, revised, and supervised the translation of Greek manuscripts, especially those of Hippocrates, Galen, Plato, and Aristotle, into Syriac and Arabic. These translations formed the basis for the development of medicine and learning among the Moslems.

One of the centers where Abu Zaid labored was at the Jundishapur (or Gundishapur) University in Persia. While this institution was organized by the Sassanid King Noshirwan the Just, also known as Chosroes I (531-579), it may have been in existence

as early as the fourth century. It was Noshirwan who welcomed the pagan neo-Platonic philosophers expelled from the Byzantine Empire by Justinian. There is a possibility that these Greek thinkers laid the foundation for the later Persian mysticism. At Jundishapur, Plato and Aristotle were rendered into Persian, and Nestorian teachers brought over Syriac translations of Greek medical treatises. The instruction in medicine, derived mainly from Greece, was later enriched by the addition of Indian, Syrian, and Persian medical lore. This remarkable university, which flourished until the tenth century, strove for the exchange and synthesis of Greek, Jewish, Christian, Indian, and Persian ideas on medicine, philosophy, and literature. As George Sarton, the eminent historian has said, Jundishapur University was "the greatest intellectual center of the time."

The contacts between Greek and Middle Eastern culture were also furthered by the Abbasid caliphs in Bagdad, beginning with Harun-al-Rashid (786-809), who, as a patron of art, literature, and science, sponsored the translations of Greek writings into Arabic. Another patron of literature and science, Caliph Abdallah-al-Mamun (813-833), sent a mission to Byzantium to obtain Greek manuscripts. The Bayt al-Hikma (House of Wisdom), which he established in 830 at Bagdad, was a scientific academy along the lines of the Museum of Alexandria. This institution produced many Arabic translations of Greek and Latin writings and thus helped to spread Western ideas in the Middle East.

The interaction between the Middle East and Europe began to operate in the other direction as well in due time. Abu Yusuf Ya'kub al-Kindi (Alkindus), "the philosopher of the Arabs," translated and adapted Aristotelian and neo-Platonic philosophy in the ninth century. And his optical writings, translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona, influenced Roger Bacon.

Another influential individual who worked under the aegis of the Abbasid caliphs was the noted astronomer, mathematician, and geographer, Abu Abdallah Muhammed ibn

Musa al-Khwarizmi (died 850). This scholar fused Greek, Indian, and Arabic learning in a manner which was rare at the time and which continued to be rare for some time.

The history of the international impact of Moslem scholars has been outlined by many historians, among them Carl Brockelmann, Philip K. Hitti, and George Sarton. It is necessary, however, to call attention only to representative ones who helped to bridge the East and West. Abu Ali al-Hasan ibn al-Haitam (Alhazen), who lived from about 965 to 1039, produced a work, "Optics," which, in Latin translation, enriched the scientific thinking of Roger Bacon and Johannes Kepler. Alhazen was an all-around scientist-scholar, contributing mainly to physics, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and philosophy.

Even more profound was the influence of Moslem theological thought on the West. Abu Ali al-Husain ibn Abdallah Ibn Sina (Avicenna), who lived from 980 to 1037, was an Aristotelian philosopher who added neo-Platonism and Moslem theology to his basic position. An encyclopedist, philosopher, physician, mathematician, astronomer, and "the most famous scientist of Islam" (Sarton), Avicenna's works were well known to medieval Christian thinkers in Europe. Probably the most important Moslem theologian, Abu Hamid Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Tusi al-Shafi'i al-Ghazzali (1058-1111) exercised a significant influence on Christian and Jewish scholasticism.

Before leaving this period of Islam, it might be well to mention, however briefly, a curious effort at international organization. In 873, a Persian oculist, Abdallah ben Maymun al-Kaddah, founded a secret society of Arabs, Persians, Christians, Jews, "and indeed all mankind" as an instrument of his ambitions. Not much is known about this society, but the thought was intriguing, certainly at this period of history.

Earlier European Contacts

The European Middle Ages, as everyone knows, was a time of constant international contact, not only among the Western nations but also with the Middle East and the Far

East. The periodic Crusades established direct relations of a commercial and cultural sort between Europe and the Middle East. In Spain, Christian, Moslem, and Jew were exchanging ideas at various times during the medieval era. Through the Moslems and Jews, Oriental knowledge came into Europe and European thought was brought into Oriental lands. Today we can still note evidence of Moslem art in Spain. The University of Cordova was an international and interreligious crossroads. The Italian University of Salerno was similarly an international center of learning, but almost exclusively in medicine. Here was taught a synthesis of Latin, Greek, Jewish, and Moslem ideas on medicine.

Translations were very important in the transmission of ideas between East and West in the Middle Ages. Constantinus Afer (Africanus) translated during 1060-1087 at Monte Cassino a number of medical works, many of them of Greek origin, from Arabic into Latin. The major translation center was the Toledo College, founded by the Archbishops Raymond and Rodríguez Ximénes. In this institution, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Spanish Jews, and Christian Arabs worked as translators. Other translation centers also flourished elsewhere in Spain and France. Perhaps the most famous medieval translators were Adelard of Bath and Gerard of Cremona (1113-1187). The Englishman translated from the Arabic into Latin at Toledo during the early part of the twelfth century, while the Italian scholar was noted as a translator from the Arabic, Hebrew, and Greek. Among the other Christians who translated Arabic works into Latin in Spain were Plato of Tivoli, Robert of Chester, Herman of Carinthia, and Aven-dath of Toledo, a convert from Judaism.

The Jews, in their own right as well as in their role as translators, helped in furthering East-West cultural and educational relations. Abraham ibn Ezra, a Spanish Jew, lived and taught in England. Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac, or Rashi as he is more familiarly known (1040-1105), lived in France, but his Bible commentary and other religious writings affected the thinking of Jewish and

Christian scholars in Germany, Spain, and the East. Solomon ben Judah ibn Gabirol (Aviccebron), who lived in Spain from about 1021 to 1058, introduced neo-Platonism into Western Europe. The "Jewish Plato" wrote his "Fons Vitae" originally in Arabic, and the Latin translation exerted an influence on Johannes Duns Scotus and other Franciscan philosophers. This Jewish thinker, who was also famous as a liturgical poet in the Hebrew language, brought to Europe the combination of Greco-Moslem philosophy. Finally, the name of Moses Maimonides (1135-1204), the physician and philosopher, is quite familiar to students of intellectual history for his writings, some of which were quoted by St. Thomas Aquinas. Maimonides lived most of his life in Egypt and wrote in Arabic and in Hebrew. His theological and legal works are still authoritative today among Jews all over the world, East and West.

The Renaissance era in West European history was marked by a limited East-West connection in cultural affairs. Relatively speaking, Byzantium was East to the Italians and other West Europeans. The relocation of Byzantine Greek culture during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may be regarded, to some extent, as a fusion of East and West.

Of greater relevance is the work of the phenomenal Italian scholar, Pico della Mirandola. A reader of twenty-two languages, Pico became interested in Jewish mysticism and specifically in the Cabbala. This led him to the study of the Hebrew language and to the eventual teaching of Hebrew in German and other Northern universities.

The academy established by Prince Henry the Navigator in 1419 at Sagres to improve the methods of navigation is one of the few examples of East-West relations during the Renaissance. The director of this academy was a Jew and instructors were Moslems and Christians. Interestingly, Columbus, later in the century, made use of scientific instruments and lore of the Moslems and the Jews.

The Reformation era, like that of the Renaissance, was not a very favorable au-

with regard to East-West relations. The Jesuits, under St. Francis Xavier, reached India in 1547 and Japan in 1549. The technique of communication used by St. Francis Xavier was that of memorization of the Creed and some sentences concerning Hell in the languages of the Asiatic natives. Father Matteo Ricci, the Italian Jesuit who lived in China from 1583 to 1610, not only taught Christianity, but also translated Western classics into Chinese. No doubt his language, dress, and manner of living as a Chinese helped to explain the West to the Chinese scholars. At the same time, his journals disseminated knowledge of China in the West.

One valiant attempt to bind the Oriental and Occidental cultures in the sixteenth century was represented in the work of the Frenchman, Guillaume Postel. This remarkable scholar was a pioneer in modern Arabic studies in the West. It is interesting to note that a monograph on Postel was recently published in the United States.

From the Seventeenth Century

The seventeenth century was a period of very great significance in the historical development of international cultural and educational relations. Holland and Portugal were actively engaged in business relations with the Orient, including Japan. Europeans were testing out various plans for a universal language. Anastasius Kircher was interpreting Chinese culture for the benefit of European scholars. In general, however, the East-West relations were not as extensive in the seventeenth century as those involving other areas. This may have been due, in part at least, to the discovery of and exploration in the Western Hemisphere, as well as to the intensification of international interests among European countries.

Among the various proposals during the century for international understanding and cooperation, four stand out because of their concern with East-West relations. In 1623, Emmeric Crucé, a French priest, published "*Le Nouveau Cynée*," a work which had unfortunately been forgotten until the beginning of the present century. In this book,

which breathes a type of broadmindedness and good will seldom found in the most recent literature, Crucé described a plan for universal peace and universal toleration. His one-world program embraced all of Europe, as well as Turkey, Persia, India, Africa, China, and Muscovy—Christians, as well as Moslems, Jews, and representatives of other religions.

One of the books advocating an international language, Cave Beck's "*The Universal Character*" (1657), is also of pertinent interest. In this volume there appeared an unusual frontispiece showing representatives of the White, Negro, Oriental, and North American Indian ethnic groups sitting in one group. Evidently, Beck wanted to convey the thought that his system of communication would enable all the world's races to get along in peace and harmony. We still have a long way to go, as a world, to achieve this ideal.

William Penn's "*Essay Toward the Present and Future Peace of Europe*" (1693) advocated the formation of a European parliament. Significantly, the Turks, Muscovites, and Moslems were to be represented in this body. Here was another attempt, to some extent, to bring together elements of the East and the West.

Finally, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz proposed in 1699 the organization of a Chinese-European Academy of Science. However, the time was not yet ripe for such an unprecedented step.

We must also consider other types of events in connection with East-West contacts. During the seventeenth century, the Japanese began to react strongly against foreign faiths, particularly against Christianity, and laws were passed to ban them. Until 1683, the Turks occupied large parts of Central and Southeast Europe. Their cultural and religious influences may still be noticed today in these regions.

The eighteenth century saw the publication of many plans for perpetual peace and international organization. So far as East-West relations are concerned, it is important to take note of the fact that Indian and Chinese literature and art became influential

in Europe during this time. Typical of European interests in the East were Montesquieu's "Lettres Persanes" (1721) and Oliver Goldsmith's "The Citizen of the World" (1762). As pointed out earlier, the literature of the Asian nations was transplanted late in the century into Western languages and the Oriental languages started to make their way into the curricula of the European universities.

The opening of Japan to Western influences did not occur until after the middle of the nineteenth century. However, the road had been paved in advance by the Dutch and the Portuguese. Moreover, Hondo Toshiaki (1744-1821), a Japanese scholar, must be credited with the introduction of European culture into his country late in the eighteenth century.

Peace societies and congresses abounded in the nineteenth century, as did international congresses and conferences. The East-West cultural situation was developing very slowly, however. The Sino-English treaty at Nanking (1825) did open China to the West, but the cultural relations seemed to lag.

The study of Sanskrit was deepened in the German and other European universities and also in the United States during the century. In addition, scholars in the west were paying more attention to Arabic and other Asiatic languages. The literature and philosophy of the East attracted many important writers of Europe. Friedrich von Schlegel's "Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Inder" (1808) was one of the influences on the development of German Romanticism. Arthur Schopenhauer and others drew upon Oriental wisdom in presenting their own ideas.

The opening of Japan to the West by Commodore Perry in 1854 ushered in an era of rapid change in the direction of modernization. As early as 1860, the first Japanese mission to the United States made inquiries about education. After the Meiji Restoration (1868), an even greater interest was expressed in foreign education. Accordingly, after the establishment of the Japanese Department of Education in 1871,

an educational mission under the direction of Prince Tomomi Iwakura was sent to Europe and the United States (1872). The sequence of predominant foreign influences on Japanese education in the nineteenth century was in the following order: French, American, and German. English education, too, played a role.

Current Scene

East and West were brought together as never before by the events of the twentieth century. The Boxer Rebellion (1900-1901), the Russo-Japanese War (1905), and the two World Wars focused world attention on the Far East, as did Japan's invasion of Manchuria (1931), the Indonesian and Vietnamese Revolts, the split between Taiwan States brought technical assistance to various Communist China, the Chinese penetration into Tibet, and the Korean War (1950-1953). Furthermore, the Middle East also required world-wide watching, especially with respect to the Arab-Israeli war and the Indian-Pakistan tensions.

Educationally, East-West relationships seemed to expand. Yale-in-China dates from 1901, and other American colleges opened branches in the Far East. Missionary activities and colleges also brought Western ideas to the Orient. Groups were formed in the West, such as the Japan Society in New York (1907), to promote understanding of Asiatic nations. The remission of indemnity funds by the United States after the Boxer Rebellion enabled Chinese students to study in that country.

Scholars of East and West came together in conferences, such as the Pan-Pacific Educational Conference, sponsored by the Pan-Pacific Union in 1921 at Honolulu. The Institute of Pacific Relations, founded in Honolulu in 1925, issued publications on the nations of the Far East. Western scholars of the rank of John Dewey, Eduard Spranger, and William H. Kilpatrick lectured in China, Japan, Turkey, and other Asiatic countries after World War I.

The United Nations and UNESCO, through conferences and major projects, sought to tie East and West culturally. Sig-

nificantly, general conferences of UNESCO were held in Beirut, Lebanon, in 1948, and in New Delhi, India, in 1956.

Governmental aid programs took the East into consideration during the twentieth century. The Point Four Program of the United Nations in Asia and Africa. The Colombo Plan (1951) of Great Britain brought similar aid to countries in South and South-east Asia.

Since World War II, the United States has been particularly active in educational work in the Far East. The educational reforms of the occupation period were followed by cooperation through several cultural and educational exchange programs. The Fulbright exchange plan was extended to include Asia as well as Europe.

The peoples of the East are gradually becoming convinced that the burden of international educational cooperation and understanding rests upon them, too. It took wars

and international tensions to drive home this fact. It was unfortunate that too few Asians were aware of such experiments in international understanding as Rabindranath Tagore's University of Santiniketan ("Abode of Peace") in Visva-Bharati ("Universal Culture"), India. Fewer even attempted to emulate this noteworthy experiment.

Very little can be found on the history of international educational relations, especially those involving the Orient and the Occident, in the standard sources of information. Even when historians discuss Indian and Chinese education, they very seldom offer any discussion of connections with Western education. Both East and West must learn and teach more about each other and about mutual relations. The general courses in educational history and comparative education ought to include repeated references to the interaction of East and West.

*As one examines national systems of education, the differences are striking. One system is highly centralized and carefully planned in all its parts; another is decentralized, apparently chaotic and unarticulated. One system leaves no room for local initiative and adaption to local needs; another leaves almost everything in the educational process to local initiative and experimentation except the barest minima to give unity in diversity. One system emphasizes rigid uniformity deliberately; another actually places a premium on variety as the soundest basis of progress. One system stresses the cultivation of the mind and intellectual development, another the formation of character and the will to act. Such differences . . . can find no explanation in educational theories; actually educational theories follow rather than lead—they are the rationalizations of pre-existing conditions.—I. L. KANDEL, *Comparative Education* (1933), pages 23–24.*

SOME OLD AND NEW APPROACHES TO METHODOLOGY IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION¹

ANDREAS M. KAZAMIAS

The argument of this paper concerns itself with three things. First, it examines critically some traditional classic approaches to comparative education; second, it dwells on some nascent approaches; and third, it offers the views of this writer on the subject. Without aiming at exhaustiveness or any definitive formulation, it focuses on the question of methodology, describes previous and current efforts in this sphere, comments on their adequacy or inadequacy, and suggests ways for improvement.

In some primordial sense comparative education may be considered as an ancient phenomenon. Plato makes numerous sporadic "comparisons" between Athenian and Spartan educational ideas and practices, and Thucydides frequently "compares" the Athenian civilization and "paideia" with those of other city-states.

It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that attempts were made at a more systematic approach to comparative education, although, as Brickman points out, several "comparative" studies had appeared earlier.² Yet, however valuable the work of such nineteenth-century pioneers as Marc-Antoine Jullien and Michael Sadler may have been, from the methodological standpoint it was not until the appearance of I. L. Kandel's monumental *Comparative Education* in 1933 that the foundations of a truly scientific study of comparative education were laid. Kandel's study charted a new course, and his views on the proper conduct of comparative studies have, in the main, remained the basis of the theoretical framework of all subsequent research in the discipline. It is appropriate, therefore, to start with a careful analysis of Kandel's approach which may be described as the most representative in the traditional-classic category.

In his most recent opinion on the subject

Kandel stated that "the methodology of comparative education is determined by the purpose that the study is to fulfill." Since the purpose is not merely to "learn about," but also "to search for information into" an educational system, "comparative education may be considered a continuation of the study of the history of education into the present."³

Looking at his actual writings, and specifically at his pioneer 1933 study and the 1955 sequel, one observes that Kandel's methodology is governed by at least three major purposes.⁴ The first purpose may be called the *repertorial-descriptive*. The reader is accordingly furnished with certain facts or, to use his own words, "information about" the school systems of various nations. In classifying these facts, Kandel employs for the most part "common-sense" categories such as organization and administration of education, elementary and secondary education, and preparation of teachers, elementary and secondary. Kandel, quite rightly, regards the mere reporting of the facts as inadequate and limited, but as an essential first step in the process of comparative study. All comparative education have followed this basic principle of Kandel's method.

The second, and, in his opinion, identifying feature of comparative education, may be called the *historical-functional*. Though necessary, it is not sufficient to report on mere facts. The comparative educator, according to Kandel, must look into "the causes" which have produced certain problems, and must appreciate Sadler's "intangible, spiritual and cultural forces which underlie an educational system." In the introduction to the 1933 volume he writes

In order to understand, appreciate and evaluate the real meaning of the educational system

of a nation, it is essential to know something of its history and traditions, of the forces and attitudes governing its social organization, of the political and economic conditions that determine its development.⁵

Education, Kandel points out, cannot be viewed as an autonomous enterprise. It must be viewed in relation to national background, and the social, economic, political, and intellectual environment. This important view has also become an integral part of comparative analysis.

The third element in Kandel's approach may be termed the *melioristic*. In both his 1933 and 1955 works, Kandel exhibits great concern for the improvement of education in the world. He hoped that by studying other systems as well as his own, the student of comparative education would develop a more desirable philosophical approach which would ultimately result in improvement of his own system, and in fostering the spirit of internationalism.⁶ This purpose has led Kandel to assume a certain body of values, e.g., democratic systems of education are better, centralization is bad, education should aim at the total development of man, and such beliefs as progress, individual responsibility, etc.

In seeking to incorporate the element of "interpretation" or "explanation" into the comparative approach, and in seeking further to illuminate educational phenomena by looking at the general "culture" of a nation, Kandel was fulfilling the expectations of previous writers on the subject, e.g., the already mentioned Michael Sadler, and set the stage for a more "scientific" examination of educational forms and practices. In blending these three elements described above, however, he has also created one methodological problem.

This methodological problem in Kandel's approach is the blending in some instances of "what is" in education with "what ought to be." It is not suggested here that the "ought" no less than the "is" should not concern the person engaged in the comparative study of education. For as C. L. Stevenson warns, if the person who knows how things are and how they came to be is reluctant to

make value judgments, then "heaven only knows who will!"⁷ But one must suggest that the two enterprises are logically different, their methodology is different, and before one embarks upon the "ought" one should, as objectively and as dispassionately as possible, investigate the "is." For if certain values, however worth while they may be, about what education ought to be are assumed beforehand, then it would be rather difficult to establish the "conditions that determine" the educational system of a nation, or to study the "forces and factors which lend to each nation its particular characteristics."⁸ Kandel states:

Education is not cramming or pouring in of knowledge and information, but it is, so far as one institution can do it, the development of the pupil's total personality. . . . It means that the abilities and potentialities of the pupil must be taken into account and the provision of opportunities and experiences for his fullest development with a thoroughly reasoned realization of his responsibility as a member of society. The selection of these experiences must be made from the individual's expanding environment. . . .⁹

This may be an excellent ideal of what education should be. But it would not render easy a "scientific" examination of the French or the Greek system of education.

It should also be pointed out here that this objection could be raised even if one agreed that comparative education "may be considered a continuation of the study of the history of education into the present." The historian's task should be to describe and illuminate certain phenomena, *not* to prescribe. Any historical treatment that is governed by considerations for improvement tends to lead to what Herbert Butterfield called "Whiggism."¹⁰ In short, the historian should view phenomena in their contemporary context regardless of whether this might lead to future improvement of practices or ideas.

These objections are not aimed at the historical method as such. Indeed it has a valuable place in comparative education and those who argue to the contrary labor under an erroneous interpretation of what this method entails. It is sometimes argued that

history deals with unique phenomena or relationships with an ineradicable temporal locus, hence the conclusion is drawn that it is impossible to construct a theory or characterize the enterprise as "scientific." But all phenomena are in a sense unique, even those which the advanced sciences employ. And it is simply not true to say that history does not make use of at least the logical features of the scientific method, e.g., formulation of hypotheses, deduction, verification, or refutation. Consider, for instance, the example that Cohen and Nagel give of Maitland's attempts to explain the use of "et caetera" by Queen Elizabeth in the title of "Defender of the Faith et caetera." Having explained the contemporary situation carefully, Maitland formulated the hypothesis that Queen Elizabeth was *probably* uncertain at her accession about what her position concerning the Church would be, therefore, she employed a flexible phrase in her title. This assumes the general principle, "If a person uncertain of his future behavior does not wish to bind himself, he will be as vague as he can be in the commitments about the future."¹¹ It is true that certain scientific techniques, e.g., controlled experimentation and measurement, cannot be applied to historical studies. But there are many sciences, e.g., geology and astronomy, and, more recently, structural linguistics, which do not employ experimentation or measurement, and surely techniques are independent of logical method.¹²

The similarities between history and the advanced sciences, at least in so far as logical method is concerned, should not obscure the fact that comprehensive theories with predictive value have not, and perhaps cannot, be developed or be as precise in areas which deal with complex human phenomena. But both the illuminative and descriptive elements of the historical method as well as any, albeit primitive theories, implicit in historical interpretation, can be of tremendous value to the comparative educator. A good example of the first part of this statement is Robert Ulich's latest book, *The Education of Nations: A Comparison in Historical Perspective*.¹³ Here the author

examines the development of several systems of education against a common historical and cultural background. Strictly speaking this is not a comparative study, though Ulich does make certain comparisons and does establish certain general principles or factors. In the main, it deals with parallel historical descriptions. Though essentially noncomparative, however, this study can be a rich source of inspiration for the comparative educator who may wish to investigate a topic or problem, and indicate similarities and differences. An example of what is meant here is Nicholas Hans's study on "Class, Caste and Intellectual Elite in Comparative Perspective," where the author examines selection and training of leaders in eighteenth-century England as well as in twentieth-century England, France, Russia, and to some degree the United States, India, and South Africa.¹⁴

The point of this discussion of history and the historical method is that these, though valuable for the reasons given above, cannot be viewed as coextensive with comparative education and comparative method. They are useful and perhaps necessary as auxiliary sources.

There is yet another methodological element in certain writers, e.g., Hans, and more recently, Vernon Mallinson,¹⁵ which merits some attention. This is the persistent effort to theorize about society in terms of the concept "national character." The use of the notion of "national character" as a tool of interpretation has recently been criticized by Joseph Lauwerys who stated that "in the end 'national character' could be made to explain anything and everything." In spite of its theoretical weakness, Lauwerys maintains that this notion has "heuristic value: it helps to formulate questions and to guide inquiries." "In fact," he concludes, "any hypothesis whatever, no matter how weak or vague or unsatisfactory, is better than no hypothesis at all."¹⁶

This, however, is a weak antidote to those who would consider "national character" as an essential methodological device. One might rightly ask: Is it *really* better or methodologically more illuminating to for-

ulate a weak or vague or unsatisfactory hypothesis than to have no hypothesis at all?

The fact is that comparative educators who have employed this methodological tool have run into difficulties, however carefully they sought to define "national character." Even in the masterly writings of Kandel we can find statements that "The Englishman dislikes to think or to formulate plans of action."¹⁷ And that "English education is characterized by lack of system,"¹⁸ since presumably Englishmen do not like to plan ahead. The latter statement is thereby explained causally by the former social psychological trait of the Englishman. The first question we may ask is: Whence do we get the evidence that the Englishman possesses this psychological trait? The only way we could get this evidence would be by examining the behavior of Englishmen or by looking at their lack of system in their institutional structure. But if we did that and then we formulated a general statement we would in a sense be saying: English institutions lack system; therefore, Englishmen dislike to formulate plans, and because they dislike to formulate plans, their institutions lack system. A circular argument, of course. Aside from this formal difficulty is it really true to say that "The Englishman dislikes to think or to formulate plans of action"? What about the Balfour Act of 1902 or the Fisher Act of 1918 which were passed before 1933? Anyone reading the parliamentary debates and the various plans for reconstruction in 1916 and 1917 would not entertain the same views. Then what Englishman are we talking about? The Webbs, the Political Parties, or John Citizen?

The same difficulties emerge when we look at the work of Mallinson, Hans, and others, who have employed the concept of "national character." The performance thus far has been largely impressionistic. And impressionism, though a fascinating and imaginative enterprise, remains doubtful and unclear as a systematic method. Now, it may very well be the case that people in certain nations do exhibit distinctive characteristics. But we must be very clear and rigorous about how we establish them and

we must be absolutely sure that they really explain institutional forms and practices.

One possible way to do this, as Lauwerys suggests, is to simplify and diminish the number of elements encompassed and restrict the scope of application.¹⁰

This brings this paper to its second aim, namely, the examination of what might be called nascent approaches to comparative education. Since Lauwerys was previously mentioned, one might comment on what he calls "The Philosophical Approach to Comparative Education."

Dissatisfied with the vastness and complexity of the concept of "national character," Lauwerys suggests as one example its delimitation to the philosophical and particularly epistemological aspects. It is possible according to him to establish "national styles" in philosophy or "different styles of arguing," e.g., British empiricism, French nationalism, Cartesianism, and perhaps existentialism, German idealism and romanticism, and American pragmatism. Assuming this to be the case the comparative educator could then seek to establish and interpret the relations between "modes of philosophical argumentation" and educational practices and systems. As an example he delineates briefly five different approaches to the notion of "General Education" (Liberal Education in England, *Culture Générale* in France, *Allgemeinbildung* in Germany, General Education in the United States, and Polytechnization in Russia). The different conceptions and practices concerning "general education" presuppose a complex of philosophical arguments and the job of the comparative educator would be to examine why X outlook was accepted in Y country and rejected in Z, a pursuit which would involve an analysis of philosophical, historical, sociological, psychological, administrative, and pedagogical factors. This would not only be a "fruitful" pursuit, but it would contribute to the acquisition of a deeper insight into "what is likely to happen in any given society," hence it would also lead to predictions.

As an example of this sort of study Lauwerys cites the 1957 *Year Book of Educa-*

tion entitled "Education and Philosophy," which takes as its central theme the relationship between philosophical systems and educational practices. One particular section in this volume examines how philosophical assumptions about the nature of man, society, and knowledge influence proposals and educational policy. For instance the pervasiveness of Platonic ideology in England may be related to educational aims, rationale, selection, institutional structure, etc.

A similar sort of inquiry might concentrate on the selection of representative national thinkers, or focus on a number of influential educational writers and reports, and then "list the philosophers or thinkers to whom these writers appeal to justify the recommendations they put forward." This procedure could be done in various countries and then the philosophical outlook and the educational practices compared.²⁰

One might, in Lauwerys' case, raise the same objections as those in the discussion of the concept "national character" in its broader meaning. We know very well that Plato has been used to justify all sorts of disparate positions and practices which have ranged from extreme humanitarianism, altruism, and class fluidity, to abject inhumaneness, social rigidity, egoism, and statism. Then in what clear sense can one say that the British are "empiricists" and the Americans "pragmatists"? In spite of these objections which can be applied to both the broad and the restricted use of "national character," this scheme has value in that it seeks to isolate one element, the ideological, and to establish categories which would help relate ideology to educational practices.

The need to categorize ideologies had been stressed also by C. Arnold Anderson in a short article on "The Utility of Societal Typologies in Comparative Education."²¹ In a recent, as yet unpublished article, Anderson elaborates further on this point and states his position as follows:

A first step in comparative analysis of educational ideologies would be simply to map them. We could begin by exploiting the existing fund of poll data to obtain a preliminary, if superficial, picture of what kinds of expecta-

tations about education exist in different societies. Combining these data with factor analyses of conceptions prevalent among policy makers (as revealed, for example, in legislative debates), educational philosophies, and leaders of public opinion would equip us to relate these differences in aims to observed contrasts in schools.²²

Anderson stresses particularly the need for refining and reducing ideologies into manageable proportions. He also stresses the significance of establishing ideologies through empirical investigation. In line with his general functional interpretation of education he advocates the need for establishing and describing relations between educational characteristics and other features of society.

Anderson's approach deserves further comment. In various statements he emphasizes the value of the application to comparative education of refined methodological tools from other social sciences, especially sociology, in order to arrive at a functional interpretation of education, an aim, incidentally, that was implicit in Kandel's purpose. But his approach is more analytic and more rigorous. When comparative educators say that the purpose of comparative education is to learn about the forces or conditions that *determine* the development of an educational system they imply that the school-society relationship is empirically demonstrable and it is lawful. But if we assume lawfulness in school-society relationships we must further logically accept the proposition that given conditions A only a certain range of B consequences will result.²³ And at least one concern of the comparative educator should be to establish these lawful relationships. In utilizing the methods of the social sciences that have been concerned with precisely this sort of scientific analysis, the way is paved for an enrichment of our cross-cultural educational perspective.

Another feature of this approach is the recognition that some sort of empirical validation of hypotheses must be sought. In Anderson's words, "we have almost no information about the products of educational systems." In short, according to him, we have a plethora of independent variables but a paucity of dependent variables.

The question of some sort of empirical validation is extremely crucial. Take a frequently quoted educational goal, viz., equality of educational opportunity. By this several nations mean not only access to education, but *treatment* according to pupils' ages, abilities, aptitudes, and so on. Very often comparative educators proceed to indicate the different methods of selection and the different institutional patterns which seek to accomplish this goal. But they very rarely seek to establish whether in *fact* England or France provides better treatment according to the age, abilities, and aptitudes of a student. Yet surely such analysis is necessary if we are not to lapse into speculations.

A third important new approach to the study of comparative education is the "problem approach." This again can potentially result in a rigorous scientific analysis of educational phenomena.

There are problems investigated on a large scale where all relevant data bearing on the issue in question are sought in many countries, such as the topics investigated in the recent issues of *The Year Book of Education*, and there are problems more restricted in scope, such as the efficacy of educational reforms in France and Turkey. This latter kind of problem was analyzed by George Z. F. Bereday at the regional meeting of the Comparative Education Society at Columbia University in April 1960.²⁴ In one of his articles on methodology Bereday stated that it is necessary that any comparative analysis be preceded by some sort of "abstract scheme which serves as a guiding hypothesis for the collection and presentation of comparative data."²⁵

It need hardly be restated that care must be taken in the selection and treatment of problems. This has been amply done by Bereday, Holmes,²⁶ and Edmund King.²⁷ The questions that must be answered before a problem is investigated have been succinctly stated by Roy C. Macridis as:

1. How are problems to be selected?
2. Are they to be stated on a simple *ad hoc* basis and are they to reflect solely the investigator's imaginativeness and sensitivity?
3. How are they to be formulated and pre-

sented? Are they related to a theoretical scheme?²⁸

To sum up the main points made thus far:

The traditional-classic studies have, in the main, been macrocosmic and historical. Their "universe" has been national systems and their categories, especially Kandel's, Cramer and Browne's, and Mallinson's, have been thereby common-sense categories, e.g., structure, administration, training of teachers, and so on. They have been historical in the sense that they have sought to establish and describe antecedent "factors," "causes," or "forces" that "determine" or "mold" the character of national entities. Ulich's is the most orthodox example of such historical approach.

The newer approaches (philosophical, functional, problem) have, in the main, been microcosmic, more analytic, and more "scientific." In these new approaches an attempt is made at more precise categorization, and more precise use of scientific method and technique. The phenomena are restricted and manageable and the relationships more precise.

In thus commenting on the value of the historical approach this writer hopes that the newer methods will not neglect it and swing to the opposite side. One must add that the historical approach need not automatically exclude the possibility of abstraction or generalization such that systematic patterns of relationships may be established and comparisons made. This element of the historical approach has not yet been sufficiently explored.

Another gap in comparative education, as has been pointed out previously, is the lack of certain kinds of empirical validation. Tools must be devised in order to establish whether actually certain things happen or certain relationships exist. Legislative change, for example, may not necessarily affect classroom practices or goals. Teams of scholars in various disciplines are needed to conduct field studies and gather data systematically to formulate and then prove or disprove certain hypotheses.

In conjunction with this, we should perhaps concentrate on more manageable levels

of reality such as schools in communities of a certain social class, or achievement in a certain subject at certain grade levels.

Finally, we need to view schools of different nations in relation to other agencies which are engaged in the transmission of culture, or in the process of socialization as the anthropologists would say. We might find that in certain societies the role of the school is secondary in cultural transmission and in others it is primary. We might also find that schools in X society perform functions which other agencies perform in Y societies.

These, then, are what seem to this writer to be fruitful avenues which comparative educators might explore and thereby broaden the comparative perspective. To put it in a nutshell, and perhaps crudely, comparative education needs to be injected with a more rigorous scientific spirit. It should build a microcosm first and then a macrocosm rather than vice versa.

The global humanistic approach should not be underestimated for education as a "whole" is too complicated a task for the contemporary social sciences alone. But the scientific element is a necessary element for enriching the other. In short, the future of comparative education must be viewed as a study combining scientific and humanistic elements.

REFERENCES

- ¹ This is a revised version of a paper read at the annual meeting of the Comparative Education Society in Chicago on February 24, 1961.
- ² W. W. Brickman, "A Historical Introduction to Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 3, No. 3, February 1960, pp. 6-8.
- ³ I. L. Kandel, "The Methodology of Comparative Education," *International Review of Education*, Vol. V, No. 3, 1959, pp. 271, 273.
- ⁴ For the names of these purposes I am indebted to J. D. Herzog of Palfrey House, Harvard University.
- ⁵ Kandel, *Comparative Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933), p. xix.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. xx, xxv, and 9. Also see Kandel, *The New Era in Education: A Comparative Study* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1955), pp. 11-13.
- ⁷ C. L. Stevenson, "The Scientist's Role and the Aims of Education," in I. Scheffler, editor, *Modern Readings: Philosophy and Education* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1958), p. 45.
- ⁸ Kandel, *Comparative Education*, op. cit., p. 868.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 867.
- ¹⁰ See H. Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951).
- ¹¹ M. R. Cohen and E. Nagel, *An Introduction to Logic and Scientific Method* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1934), pp. 341-342.
- ¹² For a fuller discussion of this point see Israel Sheffler, "Science, Morals, and Educational Policy," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, Winter 1956, pp. 3-6.
- ¹³ Robert Ulich, *The Education of Nations: A Comparison in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961).
- ¹⁴ N. Hans, "Class, Caste, and Intellectual Elite in Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 4, No. 3, February 1961, pp. 150-157.
- ¹⁵ V. Mallinson, *An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Education* (Melbourne: William Heinemann Ltd., 1957), pp. 12 ff.
- ¹⁶ Joseph A. Lauwerys, "The Philosophical Approach to Comparative Education," *International Review of Education*, Vol. V, No. 3, 1959, pp. 285-287.
- ¹⁷ Kandel, op. cit., pp. 24-25.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 94.
- ¹⁹ Lauwerys, op. cit., p. 287.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 287 ff.
- ²¹ C. Arnold Anderson, "The Utility of Societal Typologies in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1, June 1959, pp. 20-22.
- ²² Anderson, *Methodology of Comparative Education*, mimeographed.
- ²³ John Herzog, *Theory and Method in Comparative Education*. Unpublished paper, p. 2.
- ²⁴ Now available in German in *Bildung und Erziehung*, April 1961, pp. 226-243.
- ²⁵ G. Z. F. Bereday, "Some Discussion of Methods in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 1, June 1957, p. 15.
- ²⁶ For a good discussion of the problem approach see Brian Holmes, "The Problem Approach in Comparative Education: Some Methodological Considerations," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1, June 1958, pp. 3-8.
- ²⁷ See Edmund King, "Students, Teachers and Researchers in Comparative Education," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1, June 1959, pp. 34-35.
- ²⁸ See Roy C. Macridis, *The Study of Comparative Government* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955).

EDUCATION AS INVESTMENT IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE¹

JOHN VAIZEY

The central problem in deciding the place of education in the economy is to assess the returns to educational "investment." Two main means suggest themselves. The first is based on the assumption that the market mechanism for wages and salaries works, and that the individual who chooses to pay for his son's education is making as rational a choice as the individual who buys stock in a printing business rather than an oil company. In other words, he chooses between discounted net returns on different forms of investment. The second method is a macro-economic one developed in Norway.

How far we may take as definitive the use by American scholars² of the differential rates of return to persons of different educational levels it is not easy to say. Their method is to discount the average returns over a lifetime from certain occupations which are closely correlated with educational origin, and to attribute the excess over the returns to an average worker to the "investment" in education. There are a number of difficulties in this approach. First, the return is over forty to fifty years and is therefore liable to considerable economic and social vagaries. Next, the differentials may be due to a multiple correlation. Entry to higher education is associated with social origin, money, intelligence, and diligence so that in a society without higher educational opportunities the earnings of the people in question might have been exactly the same. Lastly, the higher education may in itself command the price that is later paid.

In an American study³ the following statistics are cited as an example of the returns on educational investment. In 1949, a man with an elementary education earned on average \$3112, a man with a high school education earned \$4519, and a college graduate earned \$7907. This apparently gives a very high return for the comparatively mod-

est costs of a college education even if opportunity-costs are taken into account.

In any case, however accurate the analysis may be, it would still be true that investment in higher education must be subject to diminishing returns and that consequently the result—other things being equal—of continuing investment in education must be to narrow the range of income differentials arising from earnings. There are signs that this is the case in a number of occupations in highly developed societies, where income differentials from earnings are considerably less than in underdeveloped societies. Consequently the statistics quoted above are not necessarily indicative of a permanently high rate of return on investment in education, particularly when the points made earlier are considered.

The second method of ascertaining the results of educational investment is designed to assess the contributions made to total national input by increments of capital, manpower and the third (unanalyzed) factor called "inventiveness" or organization [sic]. The nearest approach to calculations of this kind has been made by Odd Aukrust, though his conclusions are not closely related to his calculations.⁴ "Inventiveness," as a factor to which a weight of something like half is given in the assessment of the causes of total growth, is attributed in general to the results of "education" in the very broadest sense. Obviously the problems of analyzing this third factor are enormous and, to some extent, insuperable, although a series of comparative studies would presumably reveal the extent to which positive correlations between educational investment and subsequent productivity changes could be established. Certainly, the chain of reasoning from cause to effect would be easier to establish in detailed rather than in more general studies, as is shown for example by Thistlethwaite's

analysis of the importance of English craftsmen in the growth of United States industry.

Educational Investment and National Income Growth

Enough has, however, been said to indicate the probable importance of education as a factor in economic growth. In what follows it is proposed to calculate certain indications of present and potential educational effort with these general points in mind; and, in particular, to discover what room exists for a substantial extension of the education system. Emphasis will be placed on the size of the national income and the proportion of the national income devoted to education, as against physical investment. Next, the availability of physical resources and of manpower—including both teachers and pupils—in individual countries will be considered, and this will require a detailed examination of the state of employment of women. An attempt will be made, too, to determine the size of the past and present educational deficiency in each country.

We begin by a study of the percentages of national incomes devoted to education, as suggested in Table 1. This table should be used with caution. First, fluctuations in national income are the main reason for some fluctuations in percentages: If expenditure is held constant and national income rises, the percentage falls—as in the case of the decline in the percentage in Germany in 1937 which was attributable to a faster rise in the national income than in education expenditure. Next, the definition of education varies from country to country. The United States figures are overstated in relation to the United Kingdom because the United Kingdom excludes the private sector which is more important there than elsewhere. The USSR figures include some things which would elsewhere fall under other heads of expenditure, and should probably be reduced to 6 or 7 per cent. Within these limitations, and other even more serious ones noted in the next paragraph, this table suggests that expenditure on education as a proportion of national income has grown in all countries fairly consistently but that it has grown most rapidly

TABLE 1. EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE NATIONAL INCOME

| | 1913 | 1929 | 1937 | 1950 | 1955 |
|-----------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Germany ^a | 2.80 | 3.96 | 3.14 | 3.11 | 3.64 |
| Japan ^b | n.a. | 3.85 | 3.00 | 4.81 | 5.67 |
| Holland ^c | 2.09 | 3.40 | 3.86 | 3.18 | 4.51 |
| United Kingdom ^d | 1.64 | 2.50 | 2.68 | 3.43 | 4.02 |
| United States ^e | 2.31 | 3.97 | 4.47 | 4.09 | 5.19 |
| U.S.S.R. ^f | n.a. | n.a. | 7-8 | 7-8 | 7-8 |
| Sweden ^g | n.a. | n.a. | 2.7 | 3.3 | 4.3 |

Sources: a, b, c, e—Edding, p. 36; d, Vaizay, *The Costs of Education*; g, Edding, p. 143+; and f, p. 104+ with 28 n. 3.

in recent years in the USSR and Japan, while the two countries which come next on the list of those whose expenditure has grown most rapidly, the United Kingdom and Sweden, are seen to lag very considerably behind the USSR and Japan. Other countries, and notably the Federal Republic of Germany, have in comparison a comparatively poor record.

The figures presented are the beginning of an attempt to make an international comparison, but it must be pointed out that they suffer from two serious drawbacks. There is the problem of defining the scope of education and deducing the appropriate figures of expenditure on it, as discussed above. The definition of the scope of education is a serious problem, which may be illustrated by one simple example. In England nearly 9 per cent of the children are educated privately, pupils from schools in the private sector provide over half the students at the two leading universities, and their contribution to national life, in terms of decision making in all fields, is even more disproportionate. Consequently a comparison of public expenditure in England with, say Scotland, is seriously misleading; the inclusion of the private sector in the English figures helps to redress what is otherwise an apparently serious lack in the English provision for education. In more detailed studies the figures are even more strikingly misleading

For example, in East Sussex and Hampshire about a sixth of the children are educated privately, while in some Northern counties the figure is as low as 3 per cent.

There are, further, two other costs of education which must be considered, both broadly linked under the title of opportunity-cost. One is the cost to the economy of keeping people off the labor market in order to leave them free to study, the other is the payment of maintenance. In a fully employed economy which is short of labor the first cost—output foregone—will be high, while in an underemployed economy the cost may be low. The easiest way of calculating this cost is to assess what wages the students would have earned had they been at work. There are some qualifications that have to be kept in mind in making this calculation: One is that the wage system is in itself open to criticism as a reliable index of the value of work; the next is that the extension of education will make certain age groups scarce and so tend to force up their wages because of a relative fall in supply, and this will tend to make prevailing earnings a possible source of overestimation of this cost in the long run; lastly, there is the problem of deciding when it would be advisable for a young person to work—the minimum age of work is itself a social and not a natural fact.

The second major cost which is more easily measurable is the cost of maintaining pupils while they are studying. In a poor country this cost per pupil may be a bigger proportion of average per capita income than in a rich country, because it may be assumed that there is a minimum income which a student must receive which is nearer to average income of poor countries than of a rich country, and, further, there will probably be an allowance made for the loss of earnings to the family. An attempt is made in Table 2 to make some calculations of this kind for the United Kingdom. This suggests that in 1954–1955, the expenditure on education (including opportunity-cost) was about £750 million, of which output foregone was about £170 million and maintenance about £50 million. Thus in the British economy education represented over 5 per

cent of the GNP by this method of estimation, while direct visible costs represented only £530 million, or 3.6 per cent.

It might be argued that the national income percentages should be corrected for the child and school population, so that the educational effort of different countries might be made comparable with each other. Thus a country with a high proportion of young people, like the USSR, would have its percentage scaled down, while a country with a small proportion, like Ireland, would have its percentage scaled up. For some purposes, of course, this is a useful procedure, for implicit in it is the assumption that demographic change is the main causal factor in variations in the percentage of the national income devoted to education, and that if this reason for variation is removed then a more

TABLE 2. UNITED KINGDOM, FINANCIAL YEAR 1954–1955

| | (£m) | Per cent |
|---|---------|----------|
| (a) National income ¹ | 14, 670 | 100 |
| (b) Physical investment ² | 2, 100 | 14 |
| (c) Education investment | 750 | 5 |
| of which: | | |
| (d) Current public expenditure ³ | 410 | |
| (e) Current private expenditure | 40 | |
| (f) Capital expenditure ⁴ | 80 | |
| (g) Opportunity cost | 170 | |
| (h) Maintenance (say) | 50 | |

Sources: ¹ Vaizey, *The Costs of Education* (London, 1958), Table III.

² *Economic Growth*, EC/EWP/59.1, Table 6 (O.E.E.C.).

³ Vaizey, *op. cit.*, Table III.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, Table VI.

Notes: (e) Revised estimate to allow for 200,000 underestimation of school population.

(g) 450,000 school children (estimated) of 15 and over, assumed to earn £250 a year, and 120,000 students assumed to earn £500 a year.

(h) Allowing £50m. for the maintenance of about 500,000 school children and students not in receipt of full grants.

"pure" comparison is possible. On the other hand, this procedure is not valid in a discussion of economic growth. If we assume that the younger age groups are on average better educated than the older age groups, then a country with a high proportion of young people in its population is not only investing more in its educational effort than a country with a low proportion of young people, but it is also benefiting directly from the higher average level of education in its labor force, exactly as a country with a high rate of physical investment benefits from the lower average age of its stock of capital equipment.

Education investment may thus be said to reinforce two well-known effects of a rapidly growing population—greater social and occupational mobility, and a greater responsiveness to new ideas and new techniques. In this connection the demographic experience of the USSR is of great importance. The tragic consequences of the war killed 20 million or so of people in age groups which in 1965 will be over forty, while the high birth rate since 1945 promises that by 1965 the younger age groups will be much larger than the older. Thus the average age of the labor force is unusually low, and the average educational experience is correspondingly high, compared with other nations. (Something of the same advantage was held by the United States in the middle nineteenth century when its population was constantly increased by a flow of comparatively well-educated immigrants.) This demographic advantage of the USSR will be marked, in some years' time, as the age groups now entering production for the first time reflect the extremely low birth rates (and probably high infant mortality rates) of the war years.

There are other reasons for being cautious in national income comparisons. The most serious is the time lag between education and national output. A boy who leaves school at the age of fifteen has at least 50 productive years ahead of him; consequently, since the labor force contains people of all ages over fifteen, in principle some correlation between educational investment in the years 1899–

1959 and output in 1959 is necessary if any degree of accuracy is to be established in these comparisons. In practice this raises great difficulties. For many countries there is a lack of adequate gross output data going back before 1938, and there is also a lack of educational data, so consequently only the broadest international comparison is possible. Nevertheless, as Dr. Glass's study of the educational experience of the adult population has shown,⁵ it is possible by appropriate census questions or by a sample survey to establish the kind of education undergone by the industrial population of different ages and, in particular, to find out its length and general character.

In this way a rough index of *historical deficiency* may be established. A nation with a historical deficiency in education may be thought of as one standing in greater present need of additional educational investment than one without any historical deficiency. The problem is less serious for a country with a rapidly growing labor force because the make-up of its total labor force will be more heavily weighted by recent educational experience than a country with a static or declining labor force. One may perhaps conclude that when the index of the historical deficiency is high, then there is a need for greater effort in adult education.

Aside from these provisos, there remains a major difficulty in the calculation of national income statistics. It is to decide the proper category in which to place education. Is it to be regarded as part of public consumption as it is in all existing national income figures, or should it be regarded as part of investment? Economists from Adam Smith to Alfred Marshall have certainly regarded investment in human resources as a most potent force for economic betterment, and consequently there is authority for regarding education expenditure as part of investment. If this is to be the case, then an interesting comparison may be made, as in Table 3, between the figures for physical investment and intellectual investment.

These figures are particularly interesting because they show, first, that the German superiority in physical investment is some-

TABLE 3. A COMPARISON BETWEEN PHYSICAL, INTELLECTUAL AND TOTAL INVESTMENT IN SIX COUNTRIES, 1958

| | <i>Per cent of national income</i> | | | <i>Intellectual Investment/Total Investment</i> |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------|---|
| | <i>Physical</i> | <i>Intellectual</i> | <i>Total</i> | |
| Western Germany | 22.2 | 3.6 | 25.8 | 14 |
| Sweden | 19.8 | 4.3 | 24.1 | 17 |
| Holland | 22.4 | 4.5 | 26.9 | 16 |
| United Kingdom | 14.4 | 4.0 | 18.4 | 21 |
| United States | 16.6 | 5.1 | 21.7 | 24 |
| U.S.S.R. | 27.0 | 7.0 | 34.0 | 20 |

Sources: O.E.E.C. and UN data, published in annual reports for the relevant year; these data are in all cases drawn from official reports of the country concerned.

what tempered by its low rate of intellectual investment, and secondly, that the high rate of United States intellectual investment somewhat improves its position with regard to other countries. Next, the USSR, the United Kingdom, and, above all, the United States put a significantly higher proportion of their total investment into people than the other countries. This suggests that the higher rates of economic growth of the USSR and the United States may partly be due to this bias in the direction of their total investment, and may indicate a potential for growth in the United Kingdom which has been held back by the deflationary policies of 1955-1958. Calculations of this kind raise again the problem of measuring returns to investment, and, in particular, capital/output ratios. This implies the calculation of costs and of returns. It is not difficult to assess the total cost of particular levels of educational effort in very broad terms and to include an allowance for the full opportunity costs and for the cost of maintenance. Thus, in the United Kingdom the direct current cost to public authorities of raising the school leaving age by one year may be assumed to be (at 1958 prices) £35m. To this must be added the average earnings of roughly 600,000 boys and girls, at say £250 a head. This is £150m. Their costs of maintenance (minus vacation earnings) may be assumed to be £100 a head, giving a cost of maintenance of £60m. Thus total costs of an extra

school year are £35m. plus £210m., or £245m.⁶ To justify this investment on economic grounds would require an increase in the national income arising from the extra year of school life of at least £50m. a year (assuming an average capital/output ratio of 5). The question is whether there are grounds for believing that such an increase in the national income is likely to take place as a result of additional educational expenditure.

It is clearly important that investment in different levels of education should be compared with appropriate rates of return. It will be apparent from the foregoing that the "indirect" costs of education at higher ages are substantial, even when conservatively estimated. Conversely, investment in early stages of the educational system is considerably cheaper. It is difficult, also, to find a way of setting out rates of return, but it is likely that there are certain simple criteria which can be used in countries where there is a great shortage of educational facilities. What is in any case desirable is that some attempt should be made to look at the problem of the desirable pattern of educational expansion in the light of economic criteria rather than in purely educational terms. There is always a tendency to compare educational systems without regard to the extremely different cultural and economic conditions in other countries, and an economist's viewpoint may be an important corrective in this.

Supply of Teachers and Students

If we turn our attention from national income figures to the actual numbers of teachers and students, then a further series of statistics can throw light on the possibilities of economic growth. These can be divided initially into two parts: the supply of teachers, and the supply of students.

For a number of countries, immigration and emigration are of considerable importance. In a country like Western Germany, for instance, a good proportion of the labor force—possibly a fifth—was educated elsewhere. Therefore in any calculation of educational effort or deficiency, it is necessary to know the figures of immigration and emigration and, above all, to have some idea of the net "educational balance of trade." In the United Kingdom, for example, just over 10 per cent of university students are from abroad and this represents a considerable contribution by the United Kingdom to overseas government accounts. Further, in this connection it may be observed that the export of manpower after training is a major factor in international economic growth.

Much has been written on the real cost of teachers' salaries, with emphasis placed on two different aspects of the supply price of teachers, resulting in apparently contradictory conclusions. One method of approach suggests that over time the "real" cost of teachers to society increases, because there is a long-term rise in the price of labor, calculated in terms of goods. Although, over time, teachers become more highly qualified, in general they work with the same quantity of capital goods, and it is difficult to detect any increase in "real" output per teacher corresponding to the increase in the "real" cost per teacher to the community. Consequently, the richer a society, the more it has to pay, in terms of other output foregone, for the services of teachers. On the other hand, consideration of the labor market conditions for professional people suggests that as the supply of educated persons becomes more abundant, both absolutely and relatively, so the relative earnings of teachers decline; this has been the case of skilled workers relative

to unskilled workers in all the countries so far examined over the last fifty years, and, further, it is in line with reasoning which suggests that in an advanced economy higher skills are in general less scarce than in other economies, and command as a result a lower premium. Consequently, according to this view, education becomes cheaper as a country grows richer.

There is a degree of obscurity about the relative costs of teachers' salaries as a result of the confusion of the two methods of analysis. The solution is not far to seek. In the first place, all classes of wage and salary earners are better off absolutely than they were forty years ago. Next, material goods have become cheaper in terms of labor, so that labor-intensive goods and services have become relatively dearer, although the growing incomes of all persons may enable them to buy more labor-intensive goods and services than formerly, yet not as many as could have been bought had prices remained at their former level. Finally, certain skills have become relatively less scarce, partly because of the diffusion of knowledge and partly because a richer society can afford to allow more people a longer time to prepare themselves for the labor market, and so the relative real cost of the acquisition of skills has fallen (although it has risen absolutely).

There are other considerations than these questions of supply-price. One of them is the general level of employment. In a society with a high level of employment it costs more in real terms to employ a teacher than in a society with a low level of employment when the alternative to employing a teacher is leaving the person in idleness. In some countries, too, there is considerable disguised unemployment. This applies particularly to women in the changing demographic structure of modern Europe. In many countries there is a considerable degree of unemployment among women whose family cares have been reduced by the smaller families and higher real incomes which reduce the need for arduous domestic work in the house and on the farm. Consequently employment, if it can be arranged for them, represents a considerable gain to the community at little

extra cost. These women are the most important likely source of a rapid and cheap expansion of the education system. There is reason to believe that in the USSR the extraordinarily high rate of growth of the education system after the New Economic Policy was due to the recruitment of relatively underemployed women as teachers, above all in the villages; and evidence would suggest that much the same approach was in fact adopted in the United States, although less consciously than in the USSR, during the great mid-nineteenth-century expansion of the education system. The main factor in the development of the teaching profession has always been the supply of educated women. In most countries teaching remains the most important female profession, and it appears that in a number of countries there is a substantial margin of unemployment among single women which can be used in order to develop an emergency program of increasing the number of elementary teachers. Further, in most countries the number of married women available for employment outside the home is considerable and there is every reason to study the possibilities of substantial recruitment campaigns for them.

By itself, however, the analysis of the female labor market in broad terms is only the roughest guide to a possible expansion of the teaching force, because any discussion of recruitment immediately raises the question of professional standards and methods of training. This is especially important for specialist teachers, like scientists, but increasingly it applies in all countries to any teacher employed in a publicly financed school. In general, it is true to say, the more advanced a country is, the greater is the length of the teachers' training period. This necessarily raises the absolute (though not necessarily the relative) cost of teachers in advanced countries, and it may raise their productivity as well. Teaching puts demands on the supply of skilled manpower and in particular on the supply of scientists and engineers, so that the supply of teachers depends on the flow of certain kinds of manpower, as well as on the flow of educated persons in general. At this point, however, it

is sufficient to show that anything which can shorten the period of teacher training or raise productivity, or increase the supply of part-time teachers, is especially valuable when there are shortages of particular skills to be dealt with. In this connection, the comparative experience of different countries is worthy of study because there is no absolute concept of what, for example, a "trained secondary school science teacher" is, and there is a broad range between the longest and the shortest training which different countries consider necessary. Further, school organization and other factors may influence the use of a scarce resource; in coeducational schools, for instance, men or women scientists may be used, which is helpful because there is often a greater shortage of one than the other. Therefore a tendency toward or away from coeducation may easily affect the demand for scientists in the schools.

There are also other costs involved in education: the erection and maintenance of buildings and equipment. In general these tend to become a higher proportion of total cost as education expenditure rises. Consequently, there is a growing burden of education in a real sense quite separate from the question of whether or not teachers cost more absolutely and relatively as the economy grows. In this connection a most important matter demands to be examined, and this is the degree to which it may be assumed that the technical relationships in education are fixed—that is to say, that for each teacher there are a given number of ancillary aids—and how far it is true to assume that education output can be assessed simply by assuring that as the number of pupils per teacher falls so the quality of education rises.

There is strong resistance to examining teaching methods on a basis of cost, and there is an even stronger resistance to assessing its results on a basis of performance per unit of input. It may well be the case that the degree to which educational output grows with increasing inputs—especially falling size of class—has been exaggerated; there is probably a limit at a level considerably above that hitherto assumed to be educationally desirable. Further, there is a very considerable

scope for educational experiment in the greater or lesser use of labor in different combinations with capital equipment. There have been experiments, for example, in television, the use of tape machines, teaching machines, and the development of new methods of teaching in teams. Equally instructive would be the results of the use of different methods of university teaching—the tutorial system is extremely expensive in manpower, yet there is no convincing experimental evidence that its results for every student are commensurate with the cost of the system. Examination of this matter is especially important since so many countries are modeling their teaching methods on English universities.

This raises yet another question for discussion. Different stages of education are of differing importance for productivity. Almost certainly there is some degree of complementarity, that is to say, a higher education system must be as broadly based as possible for maximum economic growth. Further, the cost of the various levels of education increases with the age of pupils. Thus it is important that any proposal for extending education should be examined for its impact on the total educational situation.

There are at least two promising fields for study in which international comparisons can probably be of value. The first is a comparison of the length of the school day and the school year in different countries, because some evidence would suggest that there is considerable underutilization of resources in some countries. The second is a comparison of the proportions of teachers of various qualifications and subjects in different countries. Behind these two studies would be an attempt to discover whether there is an optimum investment in different subjects in order to obtain a given result.

In this connection the concept of a balanced educational pattern is worthy of study. At each stage of education there is a substantial wastage. It is therefore necessary to make each level of education as broad as possible if the supply of highly qualified people, such as scientists and technicians, is to be adequate. This concept cannot be re-

duced to a pure or absolute scientific hypothesis, but a comparison of the shape of the educational pattern in different countries reveals extraordinary differences. Since it is known how great are the factors militating against a long period of education for many social classes in all societies, the importance of guarding against wastage cannot be overestimated. Since human ability is not only the most productive economic resource, but also something that is irretrievably wasted if not used at once, the elimination of educational waste would be almost certainly a highly economic proposition.

The consequence of an investigation of a balanced educational pattern is to suggest that any program with a limited objective such as the production of more technicians or more scientists will involve adjustments to the whole education system, and will probably require a much greater expansion of the lower levels, because of wastage. Further, as has been pointed out by Lauwerys,⁷ the definition of a qualified person varies from country to country according to its social system. It therefore follows that a comparison of the actual numbers of students at various levels and following various courses is virtually the only objective way of comparing educational effort in different countries; such concepts as "first degrees" or "doctorates" are so idiosyncratic that no valid statistical comparison is possible, though, of course, the description and analysis of the extent of various courses is a useful and possible exercise.

REFERENCES

- ¹ A sequel to "Economic Growth and Social Change in Education," *Comparative Education Review*, June 1961.
- ² See, for example, T. W. Schultz, "Investment in Human Capital," *American Economic Review*, March 1961.
- ³ Current Population Reports, 1957, No. 77 (Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.).
- ⁴ Odd Aukrust in *European Productivity Review*, February, 1959.
- ⁵ D. V. Glass, *Social Mobility in Britain*, London, 1954.
- ⁶ This ignores the capital cost of extra school places.
- ⁷ Lauwerys, in a private communication.

THE EDUCATION OF EUROPEANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

DAVID MUNROE

The Union of South Africa was established fifty years ago and official ceremonies in recent months have celebrated the anniversary. These have been overshadowed, however, by events both within and without the country which reveal a degree of uncertainty and disunity that must cause concern, and even alarm, among South Africans themselves as well as among those who wish to be their friends. There is evidence that the divisions of color, race, language, and religion were never deeper than they are today, and it is clear that, in her struggle to solve her baffling problems, South Africa has lost the sympathy of some of her traditional allies. The motto chosen by the founders of the Union half a century ago—*Ex Unitate Vires*—has become a phrase to mock or haunt this generation of their descendants.

Yet, with all this, South Africa is prosperous. In the first six months of 1960, her exports rose above the record figure of the previous year. Agricultural production was maintained at a level which permitted substantial exports of wool, sugar, and fruit. The production of gold, on which the economy is heavily dependent, rose in 1959 to a new high level of twenty million ounces, and the production of uranium is also in the meantime making a very considerable contribution to the country's economy. Technological development has kept pace with that in Europe and North America. Industrial expansion continues and extensive commercial building is in progress in each of the principal cities. Indeed, as South Africa was less directly affected by the ordeal of the Second World War than most of her allies, she has enjoyed a period of almost uninterrupted prosperity since the middle 1930's.

As a consequence, life in the Union is filled with contrasts. There is tension but

there is optimism; there is fear but there is confidence. Much has been done in recent years to raise the standard of living among the non-European population, yet it is estimated that the average European income is ten times that of the average African, seven times that of the Colored, and five times that of the Asiatic.¹ And because the soundness of an economy and of a society must depend on the reduction of the gap between poverty and wealth, between ignorance and education, between misery and health, inevitably one asks: Cannot more be done to accelerate the rate of improvement so as to keep pace with the rapid changes in other parts of Africa and elsewhere in the world?

The force of these contrasts is evident in education, as in every other aspect of political and social life. Following the Anglo-Boer War, under the Milner regime, a strong centralized administration was established in the Transvaal and schools were founded in the larger cities on the pattern of the English public and grammar schools. Staffed by school masters from Great Britain and conducted through the medium of English, these were intended to serve as a unifying force and (even after they were adapted by Smuts as dual medium institutions) they retained their vitality to such a degree that many have continued to flourish in a slightly different form down to the present day. At the time of Union, the four provincial governments became responsible for primary and secondary education, while the central government assumed control of higher education. Even then, under the strong leadership of men like Sir John Adamson, education continued to be used as a binding force to build a united nation. Profound changes have occurred, however, within the past fifteen or twenty years. The dual, and even the parallel, medium school has been re-

placed in three of the provinces by a single medium institution, where instruction is in the mother tongue to the high school leaving stage, and the recent expansion of universities which are separated on the basis of language and culture has meant that children and youth of the Afrikaans- and English-speaking communities are now forcibly held apart.

Further divisions have appeared as educational services have been extended to the non-European population. Schools for Colored and Asiatic children are provided by the provincial departments but are completely separate from the European systems and the standards of instruction and qualifications of staff are undeniably inferior. Within recent years the Union government has attempted to replace the mission schools, which for a century offered almost the only education available to the native, with a system of ethnic schools and universities organized and rigidly controlled by the Department of Bantu Affairs. This, of course, has consolidated and even extended the barrier between the ten million members of this racial group and the minority of Europeans who govern them. The glaring inequalities which prevail are revealed in official reports which show that, in 1956, the Transvaal Department of Education estimated the per pupil cost of primary education at £46 and secondary education at £65 for Europeans, all of whom attend school between the ages of six and sixteen, while the expenditures on Bantu education are £7 per pupil with no more than 55 per cent of the children in school at any one time.² Thus education has ceased to be a unifying force and has actually become a potent instrument by which the language and racial groups are driven into complete segregation.

In education, as in economics, politics, and many other areas, statistics may hide rather than reveal the crisis that is developing. The sharp rise in enrollments in all types of institutions, the very significant increases in expenditure, the diversification of curricula, the extension of bus services, and other similar items of measurement may be used to prove a certain degree of progress;

they do not reveal, however, the seriousness of the fundamental problems which have been accumulating over the past fifty years. They do not, for example, indicate the scale of improvement necessary to meet the growing demand for education among the Bantu and other underprivileged groups. No statistics will show the confused, almost chaotic, administrative pattern that has evolved under the present constitution. Nor can they possibly give us an accurate appraisal of the status of the teacher, which we are told repeatedly has declined.³ And it is difficult even to judge from statistics the effects of the language policies because interpretations differ as to the standards of bilingualism. It is perfectly clear that more and better school buildings are being erected more rapidly than ever before, and even that the teachers colleges are now filled beyond capacity. But this does not necessarily mean that the educational system is sound or efficient. Statistics of this sort are bound to mislead rather than inform because they obscure the undeniable facts that the standards of instruction have deteriorated and that the opening of a fourth Afrikaans-medium teacher training college in the Transvaal will aggravate rather than correct the prevailing imbalance in the number of Afrikaans- and English-speaking teachers.

In education it is much more important to move in the right direction than to move rapidly, and one cannot help feeling that throughout the past fifty years South African education has been vexed by a long series of ill-advised compromises and mistaken temporary measures. When, for instance, the representatives of the four colonies met at the National Convention in Durban in 1908, education was recognized as a particularly thorny issue. Rather than stir old prejudices the delegates shelved it discreetly, making education "other than higher" the responsibility of the provincial councils. Over the years this has proved a most unhappy solution for there is a good deal of evidence to show that the provincial councils themselves have been far from successful⁴ and that they have been unable to evolve sound educational policies. This

failure may be attributed largely to the framework of the constitution. Except for education, all the functions assigned to the provinces—hospitals, roads, municipal institutions—could have been discharged equally well by district or municipal governments.⁵ Education therefore became their most important responsibility and by far the largest item of expenditure. Yet, in spite of the constitutional provisions, the provincial councils do not exercise actual autonomy or control, since the chief executive officer in the province, the administrator, is appointed by the Union government with authority to challenge and obstruct the decisions of the provincial council.⁶ Almost inevitably, he has become the final authority in educational matters, leaving the supervision of roads, hospitals, and municipal affairs to the other members of the provincial executive. Furthermore, the power of the Union government is fortified by the fact that the director of education (the superintendent general in Cape Province) and the members of the inspectorate are all appointed by the Public Service Commission and are therefore Union civil servants placed under jurisdiction of the provinces. Moreover, the director is partly responsible to another civil servant, the provincial secretary, who seldom is qualified to have any jurisdiction over educational policy or administration. Disputes and disagreements have arisen from time to time (perhaps these have been more frequent in recent years), and, even more serious, political pressures have developed which have seriously affected the progress of education.

A further complication in this confusion of authority is the fact that the entire costs of education, including teachers' salaries, are met by the provincial departments, half of the total expenditures being derived through subsidies from the Union government. Thus, except for small amounts raised by local committees for special projects, school costs are met by the provincial governments which are themselves unable to raise more than half their total budgets from their own sources of taxation. This extraordinary pattern of school finance has, in the past,

proved clumsy and inefficient and, with the rapid increase in expenditures over the past decade, it is difficult to see how it can continue.

While political pressure has been exerted by the central government, influence of another sort has been strenuously applied in local communities. It is not unfair to say that, except in Cape Province, the traditions and machinery of local government outside the urban centers are regrettably weak.⁷ The powers of taxation are restricted, many of the functions of local government are permissive rather than compulsory, and even such a vital matter as the control of police⁸ is, like education, assigned to the provincial rather than the municipal authority. The result is that the school committee or governing body, where it exists at all, is concerned with matters in which it has no financial responsibility. It may recommend the appointment of teachers, always with the approval of the director of education of the province, but it does not contribute to the teacher's salary and consequently it may act unreasonably or even irresponsibly in recommending appointments on religious, denominational, and even political grounds. There are signs that such pressure has been increasing and in several provinces during recent months steps have been taken to check this trend. Up to the present time, however, no satisfactory method has been found to curb the narrow prejudices of local religious and political leaders.

The uncertainties and inconsistencies in administration have particularly affected two aspects of education. The language problem presented serious difficulties even before the Union was formed. In the Transvaal the English community had established the Council of Education of the Witwatersrand in 1895 to ensure the proper schooling of their children at a time when the government was insisting on the use of Dutch. After the Anglo-Boer War the situation was reversed, with the Christian National schools attempting to protect the Boer children from assimilation. Then came a period of compromise under the wise leadership of Smuts and others, although it is not always realized

that this truce may be attributed in part at least to the internal struggle in the Afrikaans community where the new language was gradually replacing Dutch. This process was completed in 1925 when Afrikaans was recognized as an official language. Thereafter, for a time, dual and parallel medium schools continued to operate successfully, it being generally assumed that everyone must learn to speak English and, if possible, Afrikaans also. A radical change came during and after the Second World War. Mother-tongue instruction was adopted as official policy. Moreover, the Afrikaans community gradually began to insist on this segregation, not so much to establish the equal status of their language as to protect their children from alien cultural influences. The single medium school was really introduced to enforce cultural and political isolation.

This division, which may be justified in the first two or three years at school, was soon extended in three provinces into the early years of high school and it is now being continued into the university. The expansion of the Afrikaans universities during the past few years has been quite remarkable⁹ and, while there is no attempt to exclude English-speaking students, it is obvious that the cultural and intellectual atmosphere of Pretoria and Potchefstroom is very different from that of Witwatersrand or Cape Town. If this segregation is considered desirable, the fact should be openly acknowledged both to ensure the efficient operation of the two sections of the educational system and so that some alternative opportunities may be devised for social intercourse between the children and young people of the two communities.

At the present time there is a good deal of apprehension, particularly in the Transvaal, about the standard of English instruction. This may be attributed to the steady decline in the proportion of English-speaking teachers, a trend which became apparent about a decade ago. If two separate systems are to be established, it is surely essential that the English schools should be staffed either by English-speaking teachers, or by teachers who are thoroughly bilingual and

have a feeling for the English language and its traditions, as well as an understanding and appreciation of the ideals of the English-speaking community. Recent statistics show that, whereas 33 per cent of the children at school in the Union come from English homes, only 18 per cent of the teachers are English-speaking. In terms of language instruction this is serious enough, but when we recall the cultural barriers which have been erected, it becomes perfectly clear that English-speaking parents will not welcome instruction by teachers whose cultural background and outlook are out of harmony with their own.

Moreover in establishing the equality of two systems there are other things to be considered. It becomes essential that standards of buildings and equipment be kept equal and this will not be easy in a country where rapid industrial expansion is causing frequent movements in population. There are problems of curriculum. In recent years there have been difficulties in securing textbooks which are equally suitable for a common course of study. But the most vexing problem at present is undoubtedly the establishment of valid tests of aptitude and intelligence from which norms can be derived for selection procedures under the Differentiated Curriculum adopted in the Transvaal. Indeed, the farther one penetrates into all the ramifications of the present policy the more one is convinced that the only logical outcome must be the complete separation of the two systems. Carried to this length, it would be necessary to give each language group complete autonomy over its schools, its curriculum, its teacher training, its school administration. Obviously this would be expensive in manpower as well as in money and, if extended to the four provinces, it would certainly aggravate rather than reduce the tensions which exist today.

Under present circumstances many English-speaking parents have been compelled to turn much more to the private school. Institutions of this type have long played an important part in the life of South Africa, some having been established by church authorities in the nineteenth century. For

the most part they are residential, many are under church control, and usually follow a classical or academic curriculum similar to that in the English public schools. Moreover, a large proportion of the teachers are, of necessity, recruited overseas. No one can deny that they offer sound, solid teaching in preparation for the universities but at present it would be difficult to defend them as institutions in which South African children of both cultural traditions learn to live together and respect a common heritage. Yet in recent years they have flourished as never before and there has even been a proposal to establish "Etons" for Afrikaaner children, where the narrow doctrines of Christian National Education, as reinterpreted in recent years by the extreme fundamentalist leaders, could be taught without interference from the state. Independent schools have, of course, an important part to play in any educational system. At the present time, for obvious reasons, they perform a great service for English-speaking communities in South Africa. If, however, they are to continue their development, they must become more closely identified with the traditions of South Africa, serving both language and cultural groups. If some of them were to become dual medium institutions, offering encouragement to bilingualism and social intercourse, they might become useful as experimental laboratories where new educational patterns could be developed.

The success of any school, public or private, must depend on the teachers, and the second aspect of education that has been adversely affected by recent administrative policy is the status of the teacher. At the beginning of the present century high respect was paid to the teacher both in the Afrikaans community, where he shared a position of dignity with the predikant, and among the English who based their attitudes on the status accorded the master in the Victorian public and grammar schools. During Milner's regime a good many school masters were actually brought out from England to teach in the newly established secondary schools and Afrikaaner leaders like Smuts and Hertzog made every effort

to establish schools that would attract teachers with sound academic qualifications and a strong sense of professional dedication. These standards were maintained for some years with difficulty under the constant pressure of mass education but in the past decade they have suffered noticeably. Other professions like law and medicine, dentistry and engineering, have continued to claim the students of high intellectual capacity and promise. In a period of rapid industrial expansion and technological development, commercial and industrial opportunities have become far more attractive than teaching. Serious and regrettable as is this competition, it is not by any means confined to South Africa. What is almost unique there is that, while many other occupations have become steadily more attractive, the relative rewards of the teacher have actually declined. In recent years he has become the victim of a policy of centralization by which his initiative, his independence, and his income have all been affected.

The trend toward centralization has been greatly accelerated during the past ten years. Ever since the Union, of course, the teacher has been considered a quasi civil servant, selected, trained, certified, employed, and paid by the provincial departments of education. Practice varies slightly from province to province. In one, for example, the teacher must agree to accept assignment to any district; in another, the rating given by the inspector is kept secret from both the teacher and the principal. No doubt there are arguments to justify these practices; nevertheless they betray fundamental attitudes which detract seriously from individual freedom and professional self-respect. In recent years the responsibilities of the inspector have been increased until they now include even such items as the approval of promotions and admission to school hostels. Similarly, by common agreement in all the provinces, married women may not be employed as permanent members of staff, although large numbers are employed on annual contract. This practice is deplorable because it excludes many excellent teachers from permanent service, teachers who

would otherwise find careers in senior and administrative positions. Furthermore, it is now beginning to operate in such a way that English-speaking married teachers are being excluded in favor of recent graduates from the Afrikaans training colleges. But the most serious effect of centralization has been on salary policy. In 1952 the four provincial departments agreed on a uniform salary schedule to be enforced throughout the Union. The scale establishes six categories, based on years of experience and length of professional and academic study. While it gives recognition to factors which are of great importance in teaching efficiency, applied uniformly over a country the size of South Africa to a professional group in which qualifications vary so widely, it can scarcely operate in such a way as to produce the incentives that are required.

These measures have been taken at a time when, in most western countries, every effort is being made to improve the qualifications and protect the independent status of the teacher. In the United Kingdom, in Canada, in the United States, the teacher is a private citizen, appointed and paid by local authorities. His efficiency is supervised by his principal and other local colleagues, his promotions are determined without interference from central authorities, and, in North America, it is even customary for local school boards to compete for the services of teachers through the adoption of district salary schedules. Furthermore, in recent years in almost all other countries teachers' associations have grown sufficiently powerful to influence public policy in all matters that concern the teacher's status, work, and welfare.

The gradual but steady accumulation of all these problems has now reached the point of crisis. These, together with other difficulties which have arisen within the Union and other pressures that have developed without, seem to indicate that the shape of South Africa's future will probably be determined during the next twelve months. Realizing this, the present writer finds it difficult to believe that the government, or even the average citizen, is fully aware of the nature

and pace of changes occurring elsewhere in Africa or of the growing importance of education in public policy. It must now be clear that education, in the past five or ten years, has developed a new dimension. It is no longer a cultural or a vocational or even a spiritual agent only; it has become a potent political weapon of great and dangerous potential power. It is an instrument which may be used to free or fetter mankind.

With all her problems, one cannot help feeling that South Africa has the potential qualities and substance of greatness. The land is beautiful and varied, with broad pastures, sunny valleys, rich mines, and sheltering mountains. During three hundred years of European occupation the frontier has been steadily pushed back and modern cities, by far the greatest in Africa, have been built at the Cape of Good Hope, on the Indian Ocean, and on the Witwatersrand. The problems are essentially human ones and, even for these, South Africans can rely upon the rich heritage of great European nations—the sober, industrious Dutchman and the practical, freedom-loving Briton, the Frenchman and the German—as well as upon the great human resources of the Orient and of Africa itself. One would expect that a great nation could be fashioned out of all these materials.

If this is to be accomplished, education will play a strategic and important part. Technical skill has already harnessed the natural resources; agriculture and industrialism have built the economy. It remains for education to provide that intellectual and spiritual force which will bind man to man. In the first half century much has been accomplished in education. Schools, colleges, and universities have been established for all sections of the population but the inequalities and divisions must now be reduced. This will be difficult, perhaps impossible, unless the administrative practices are changed to encourage a greater measure of participation by and responsibility in local communities and at the same time to protect education from political influence in the upper levels of government. In 1908, at the National Convention, education was recognized

as a baffling problem and it was ignored; it remains a baffling problem today, but to ignore it any longer would be to threaten the very structure and welfare of the state.

REFERENCES

¹ These estimates, quoted by the correspondent of *The London Times*, August 3, 1960, were obtained from Dr. Shiela van der Horst, a South African economist.

² Chairman's Address, Report of the Syndic, Council of Education, 1959, p. 6.

³ Leo Marquard, *The Peoples and Policies of South Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 184.

⁴ J. H. Hofmeyr, *South Africa* (ed. Cope) (London: Ernest Benn, 1952), p. 170.

⁵ Eric A. Walker, *A History of Southern Africa* (London: Longmans, 1959), p. 541.

⁶ Hofmeyr, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁷ Hofmeyr, *loc. cit.*

⁸ Marquard, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁹ The University of Pretoria has displaced the University of the Witwatersrand as the largest South African university. It has now an enrollment of more than 7,000 students.

Kappa Delta Pi International Education Monographs

THE ITALIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR SCHOOLS

By JOSEPH JUSTMAN, *First International Fellow, Kappa Delta Pi, 1956-1957*

Order from: Kappa Delta Pi, 238 East Perry Street, Tiffin, Ohio

Price \$1.00

AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

By FRANKLIN PARKER, *Second International Fellow, Kappa Delta Pi, 1957-1958*

Order from: The Ohio State University Press, 164 West Nineteenth Avenue, Columbus 10, Ohio

Price \$1.75

SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR ALL—THE ENGLISH APPROACH

By A. HARRY PASSOW, *Third International Fellow, Kappa Delta Pi, 1958-1959*

Order from: The Ohio State University Press, 164 West Nineteenth Avenue, Columbus 10, Ohio

Price \$1.75

Kappa Delta Pi Lecture Series

THE CULT OF UNCERTAINTY

By I. L. KANDEL

Order from: Kappa Delta Pi, 238 East Perry Street, Tiffin, Ohio

Price \$2.00

AFRICAN ASPIRATIONS FOR EDUCATION IN RURAL NATAL¹

P. D. HEY

Education is like a field which gives you a good return.—MOQUQUUMA ZUMA, Pholela induna.

Natal was annexed by the British in 1843 and defined areas for occupation were set aside for the various tribes. The people of the Bidla tribe (an offshoot of the Zulu) were given Ward 3, Location 2, in the Pholela District. Pholela is approximately 52,300 acres in extent, and although many hundreds of acres of land are uninhabited the average density of population of the area is about 131 per square mile which is somewhat higher than in most reserves. About 1000 African homes (*umusi*) are in this area today and each home contains on the average a little over seven persons. The area is bounded in the north and north east by the Umkomaas River, which plays a great part in the lives of the local people. Pholela is 44 miles from Pietermaritzburg and the same distance from the Drakensberg Mountains. Since annexation the area has shown the trend that would be duplicated in hundreds of reserves throughout the Union of South Africa—first, settlement; next, the painful development of Christianity, often transmuted by local ancestor worship and other tribal beliefs; then, the establishment of schools and the gradual undermining of the authority of the chief and the substitution of an educated elite that continues to threaten the traditional order and way of life.

Education is one of the most significant disruptive factors, and in this article an attempt is made to determine some local aspirations, achievements, and problems of adults and children in the area.

Standard of Education of Parents

The growing importance of education to Pholela society can be seen in the fact that

of 315 parents interviewed, 75 (or 23.8 per cent) had received no education whatever. Their children, by comparison, had had at least six years of education. The average length of schooling of 158 fathers in the group was found to be 3.9 years, and of 157 mothers, 3.8 years. In most cases, fathers have had more education than mothers. This is a reflection of the earlier history of Pholela where men were the first to accept Christianity and with it education. Incidentally, in this area, an educated person and a Christian are interchangeable terms. Men were also the first to labor in the towns and "education" (i.e., the ability to read and write Zulu) was a useful acquisition and much sought after.²

Gain on Parent's Education

In most instances in this study, children had already gained over the standard of education enjoyed by the parent. Only a rough estimate of gain could be given as it was not known to what extent the child would finally be educated, but it was assumed that he would proceed at least to the end of the year. The average gain in education of children was 2.8 years of schooling on fathers and 3.6 years on mothers.

Occupations of Parents

It was notable that there seemed to be little correlation in the sample between standard of education and the employment undertaken by parents (except in the case of four male and two female teachers) who were doing work equivalent to their education. Although there is a fair range of occupations in the case of men, these tended to be mostly menial (domestic work of one sort or another being most frequently listed). Mothers were overwhelmingly housewives

(77.2 per cent). A few earned a living locally making mats, and as dressmakers, and 6 per cent of mothers were domestic servants in towns. Sixty-one per cent of fathers in the sample were working in towns as migrant workers and only 8 per cent of mothers. This in itself suggests the problems faced by the children: the absence of one or both parents from home.

Children Enrolled in 1955

Of 213 children in seven schools (eleven standards), there were 118 girls and 95 boys, or 10.8 per cent more girls than boys. These, admittedly, were in the higher standards, but it represents a recent trend in the way of life of Pholela. Boys tend to leave school and obtain work in the towns, while girls remain in school until a fairly late age, although a few of the latter undertake work commensurate with their educational standard. Most parents when interviewed (and children when asked) said they would give more education to a boy than to a girl, as a girl will leave the parental home and take her talents to the home of the husband. A boy, on the other hand, is committed by tradition to care for his parents after marriage, and therefore should get the more advanced education. Practice in the area, however, seems to compel boys to seek work in the towns once they have a modicum of education. A girl is more likely to stay on at school and is kept at home.

Average age. The average age of boys in a class is higher than that of girls (.85 years per class), and in all the individual classes studied, except one, the boys were on average older than the girls. In this area at least, a shortage of man power keeps boys herding cattle, sometimes to their early teens, while girls enter schools early since their mothers are at home carrying the burden of home management. As one might expect, the average age of children in school here is considerably above (at least two years) that of children in an equivalent standard in European schools, because of the many difficulties that have to be faced in Pholela. Children enter Standard IV at thirteen in the case of girls, and at fourteen or even fifteen

in the case of boys. The later standards show a proportionate increase in age.

Distance from school. It was thought that a measure of the eagerness of children in school to continue their schooling might be gained by estimating the distance they must walk to school. It was found that some children leave home before dawn in the winter months and reach home at dusk. (It should be noted that few of these children have anything more than gruel for "breakfast," and do not eat a full meal until the evening. The countryside, as we have noted, is mountainous, and few of the roads that honeycomb the area are adequate. A small percentage of boys own bicycles, but for the most part children walk to school. The problem of teaching children under these conditions can be imagined.³) As only five schools in the area proceed to Standard IV (6 years of schooling), one to Standard VI (8 years of schooling), one to Standard VII (9 years of schooling), children in the upper standards have farther to walk, on average, than children in the lower standards. Children in the upper standards at Pholela walk more than four miles a day to and from school.

Boarding. Some idea of the desire for "higher" education⁴ might be obtained from a study of boarders in the area. There are, of course, no government boarding establishments for children; they simply stay with private people in huts in the area.

The higher classes in some schools have a great number of children boarding—in some instances, as high as 50 per cent of a class. At two schools in the area 71 children were boarding as follows:

| | |
|-------------------------|----------|
| With strangers | 16 |
| With friend of family: | |
| a. schoolteacher | 7 |
| b. unspecified | 3 |
| | <hr/> 26 |
| With relations: | |
| a. sister | 7 |
| b. brother-in-law | 1 |
| c. uncle | 8 |
| d. aunt | 13 |
| e. grandmother | 3 |
| f. unspecified relation | 13 |
| | <hr/> 45 |

Most children stay with a relative, usually female, as following the local exogamous marriage pattern she is likely to have moved to another area when married. Sometimes a schoolteacher will advise a pupil from his home area to attend school and board where he is working. In some instances a child and his parents from another area will simply walk about the neighborhood of a school asking that the child be taken in.

If the boarder is a boy, he can be useful in the home when so many men are working in the town. He undertakes work after school in return for his keep. A girl usually stays with relatives and helps with household tasks. Sometimes a child will supply his own food and cook his own meals if he is living with a stranger. Costs of boarding vary from 10/- to £1.10.-, a month.

This area is remote from the main towns of the Province, yet many children live as boarders. Of a sample of 76 boarders, 36 had homes within a few miles of the school, but too far to walk daily, while 40 came from places farther afield. Of these 9 came from the Cape Province, 1 from Durban, and 2 from Pietermaritzburg. The wide range from which pupils are drawn suggests the great difficulties African parents experience in obtaining higher education for their children.

Children's Ambitions

Children were asked what they hoped to do with their education. Of 73 girls, the vast majority said they wished to become nurses.⁵ This is principally because of the high status given to nurses in the new society, and a variety of other conditions of work which are more reasonable than any other possible career. Girls, as will be seen from the tabulation below, are very conscious of the opportunities provided by nursing. Schoolteachers are few in number in this list because of the conditions under which women teachers are said to live: They teach away from home and they are likely to be posted to strange areas.

The interesting feature of these returns was the fact that every girl listed some career she intended to follow in spite of the

difficulty involved (expense and so on) and in spite of the fact that in reality a good proportion of educated girls remain at home. It would seem to be inevitable that the ambitions of the majority cannot be realized. Sixty-one boys in six different schools were questioned as to their ambitions. The boys' returns to this question reflect the wider opportunities for African males in the outside world. The most popular choice was that of a clerk, as here again conditions are thought to be most favorable. The hours are reasonable, and the work does not seem to require the exhausting physical effort that is the characteristic of other occupations open to Africans. Indeed, the more education a boy can get the greater is his insurance, he believes, against having to undertake exhausting manual work. (Road building was a job boys wished to avoid at all costs.) Like nursing for girls, however, there is little opportunity for boys to be clerks. Teaching is a more realistic choice.

An interesting feature of these returns was the fact that many careers seemed to have been chosen by the parents. Less than 10 per cent of children in this combined sample of boys and girls indicated that they had had a free choice of career. Frequently when asked what occupation they desired after leaving school, the reply was given: "I want to be a teacher (or a nurse) because my parents wish it." Boys showed a certain amount of independence and did not refer to their parents quite so often regarding their choice of career as did girls.

| GIRLS' CAREERS | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE |
|----------------|-----------|------------|
| Nurse | 62 | 84.9 |
| Schoolteacher | 8 | 10.9 |
| Dressmaker | 2 | 2.8 |
| Not specified | 1 | 1.4 |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>73</i> | |
| BOYS' CAREERS | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE |
| Clerk | 17 | 27.8 |
| Teacher | 14 | 22.9 |
| Doctor | 9 | 14.7 |
| Male nurse | 4 | 6.5 |
| Carpenter | 4 | 6.5 |
| Driver | 3 | 4.9 |
| Minister | 2 | 3.3 |
| Medical aide | 1 | 1.6 |

| | | |
|----------------------|-----------|-----|
| Hospital worker | 1 | 1.6 |
| Laboratory assistant | 1 | 1.6 |
| Shop assistant | 1 | 1.6 |
| Telephonist | 1 | 1.6 |
| Builder | 1 | 1.6 |
| Court interpreter | 1 | 1.6 |
| Soldier | 1 | 1.6 |
| Total | 61 | |

It was decided to check on the reality of the aspirations of the above children by studying the careers of 102 children, selected at random, who had entered schools in the area in 1949, and seeing what they were doing in 1956, seven years later.

| MALES | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Unknown | 5 | 10.6 |
| Still attending school | 22 | 46.8 |
| At home | 7 | 14.8 |
| Planting trees (local occupation) | 3 | 6.3 |
| Migrant laborers | 10 | 21.2* |
| Total | 47 | |

| FEMALES | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Unknown | 10 | 18.1 |
| Still attending school | 14 | 25.4 |
| At home | 21 | 38.2 |
| Planting trees (local occupation) | 4 | 7.2 |
| Migrant laborers | 3 | 5.4 |
| Married | 2 | 3.6 |
| Local worker | 1 | 1.8 |
| Total | 55 | |

* See migrant labor statistics, p. 116.

The pattern of adult behaviour at Pholela is established at an early age, as shown in the above sample. A good percentage of girls are at home assisting with the domestic management. Only 5.4 per cent of girls are migrant and only one of the sample is doing local work other than planting. A fair percentage of boys are now migrant laborers in the towns, principally in the coastal town of Durban. There is a local tradition that a man proves himself by working in the progressively larger cities of Pietermaritzburg, Durban, and Johannesburg. He is finally considered a "man" when he has worked in Johannesburg. A few are at home helping

with traditional male tasks, and three of the sample are assisting with tree planting in the area.

The children remaining in school after seven years numbered 35.3 per cent and only these are still eligible for the desirable professions. The likelihood that even 10 per cent will remain at school, let alone be selected, is extremely small.

However, the determination of children to continue with their schooling in spite of difficulties is illustrated in the school careers of these 102 children who had an unbroken period of schooling from 1949 to 1956:

| CHILDREN | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE |
|------------------|------------|------------|
| Repeated 1 year | 36 | 35.3 |
| Repeated 2 years | 17 | 16.6 |
| Repeated 3 years | 5 | 4.8 |
| Did not repeat | 44 | 43.2 |
| Total | 102 | |

A large percentage (56.8) repeated one year or more in their school career. This suggests the African's determination to continue his child's schooling in spite of hardship, and often when the child is having great difficulty with his work. The above figures are representative of the enormous amount of wastage in African education, and do not include those children who received no schooling at all, or who left school during the period.

Children's Hopes and Fears

Children's hopes and fears regarding education reflected, it was thought, the hopes and fears of parents. One hundred and thirty-four children from two schools were asked to write essays on "What I fear for the future" and "What I hope for the future," and the following were typical responses regarding education, all of which suggest eagerness for more and better education:

"What I fear for the future"—Typical replies:

1. Chiefs are going to be put in charge of schools.^a
2. Schools are going to end at Standard 2.
3. What I fear is that the government will take away all schools.

4. I fear I will not be allowed to finish in school.

"What I hope for the future"—Typical replies:

1. I hope to pass my examination and become a nurse.

2. I hope new classrooms will be built and the school will be better.

3. I hope the African people will become educated and have brains like the English.

The Curriculum

Important subjects. Eighty-one children were asked what they considered were the most important school subjects. It was found that there was an overwhelming preference for English, Arithmetic, and Afrikaans as these were, in the higher standards, the way to acquiring better jobs in the new culture. There is, it would seem, a functional attitude towards learning reflected in the response to the question. Following are some typical answers:

English:

- Can talk to a white man when I look for a job.
- Will be able to get a job with white people.
- Understand white man . . . you couldn't talk to him in Zulu.

Arithmetic:

- You have to count your money and your stock.
- When you work for a white person, it helps you to count your money.
- Count money so that people won't rob you.

Afrikaans:

- When traveling you might come across an Afrikaans person and then you will be able to get your ticket.
- It is the language we have to talk: more important now.

The African child approaches school from a severely utilitarian point of view. The important thing is to master the subject, and "enjoyment" is a secondary consideration.

Difficult subjects. As one would expect, the school child at Pholela finds those subjects difficult which are farthest from the traditionalist's way of life. Thus Arithmetic is found most difficult, as counting is foreign

to Zulu culture. Geography is found difficult because few children travel, and Afrikaans because not many have the opportunity of talking with Afrikaans people. History (largely European history) is another subject found extremely difficult because of the strangeness of the European background.

Arithmetic:

- Because not born with arithmetic, just learn it in school.
- Because I cannot do money sums.

Geography:

- They teach us of towns we do not know.
- Don't understand how the world can be round.
- Forget towns on the map.

Afrikaans:

- Hard to speak it: Just started it.
- Tongue gets tied: Can't understand it.

History:

- There are many things I forget about history.
- I cannot understand English history.

Influence of School on Home

Children generally do not seem to regard the school in this area as having much bearing on home life. Indeed, children tend to regard the two worlds as separate, having no direct bearing on each other. In fact, the school tends to have a divisive effect on the life of the Pholela home and is a further cause of family disruption in the area. Along with migratory labor it is a principal cause of family instability.

A socioeconomic survey of the Pholela and Swartkop Reserves, undertaken by N. Hurwitz in 1957 (unpublished), shows that during 1954-55 Pholela males, during migratory labor, were temporarily located as follows:

| TOWN | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE |
|------------------|--------|------------|
| Durban | 34 | 22.7 |
| Pietermaritzburg | 80 | 53.3 |
| Bulwer | 4 | |
| Johannesburg | 20 | 13.3 |
| Other | 12 | |
| Total | 150 | |

Many of the demands insisted upon in school cannot be carried out in the home and serve only to suggest the inadequacy of the home. For example, it is one thing to stress the importance of cleanliness, and another to carry water from a stream several hundred feet below the hut. The Pholela school child has difficulty in translating his knowledge into action in the home. Moreover, the parent is reluctant to follow the child's advice. One of the primary causes of family dissension stems from the fact that in the school the child is provided with esoteric knowledge which the parent lacks. One parent said, "Since I've sent my child to school, I've become the child and he is the parent." But in fields such as hygiene and agriculture (two subjects greatly stressed in school) a child, by virtue of the role he plays in adult society, dare not suggest that family methods be changed. In a hundred ways the home is adversely compared with the school, but there is little the child can do about it. The hope for the future lies in the time when today's child becomes an adult with a home of his own.

Education for an increasing number of Africans in the Pholela area is the principle hope of providing a comfortable future. It would seem that at least as many girls as boys are being educated, and this in itself is likely to undermine the submissive pattern expected of girls in the culture. While many receive only the merest smattering of learning, more and more are staying on at school, particularly as it becomes increasingly difficult to practice traditional tasks such as herding and the like. Literacy is desired, and also fluency in English to give the young man a chance to become a clerk or teacher, and the young woman a nurse. The tragedy is that so few will have the opportunity to realize what they and their parents have come to believe is the only salvation.

REFERENCES

¹ This article reports a limited study undertaken in 1956 and 1957 of eleven classes in seven different Natal schools. Certain limitations of the study should be mentioned:

1. It was not possible in the time available to discover what percentage of children receive any education in this area. (A rough estimate would be 50 per cent but this would be difficult to prove.)

2. The study was largely concerned with children who had already reached the fourth standard (i.e., had at least six years of schooling), and might be proceeding. In other words, the study was made of children whose parents believed (by local standards) in a good measure of education. No comparable study was made of children not in school, or of parents who refused to send their children to school.

3. Most of the information was gathered by direct interview with parents and children, and checked, where possible, against records kept by the Pholela Health Centre. That information is scanty and difficult to procure, particularly as the region is mountainous (ranging from 4,000 to 5,000 feet), and the schools and huts widely scattered and often inaccessible except on foot. Because of the problem of reaching all parents and children, the sample was relatively small (158 fathers and 157 mothers were interviewed), and never more than 213 children on one question. Usually the sample was smaller than this.

² It should be noted that in general, should the mother have had more education than the father, little use was made of her education, and she tended to revert to the traditional pattern of remaining at home. Only when the father was deceased was it found that the mother sought work.

³ It might be said that all schools are of wood and iron and subject to the vagaries of the weather, which in the summer months is extremely hot and in the winter very cold. Few classes have desks; most of the lower classes sit at benches throughout the day.

⁴ That is to Standard VI in one school and Standard VII in another. As indicated, there is an acute shortage of schools taking children beyond Standard IV in the area.

⁵ Nursing is one of the few careers, other than domestic work, open to African females in Natal.

⁶ As the chief represents the old order, he is often not well disposed to education for members of his tribe.

QUALITY AND EQUALITY IN CANADIAN EDUCATION

PAUL NASH

Canadian education is today caught in a painful dilemma. In one way, it is the same conflict between the demands for quality and equality that assails, in some degree, all educational systems. But this basic conflict is aggravated in Canada by subconflicts peculiar to this country. One of these subconflicts is that between the forces of history and those of geography; another (or another way of looking at the same conflict) is that between what might be called the European orientation and the American orientation. In addition, a host of other subconflicts cluster around these basic ones. In this article it will be suggested that the reconciliation of the demands of quality and equality is rendered more difficult in Canada because many of these concomitant conflicts run parallel to the main conflict and so deepen and broaden the basic dilemma.

European Orientation

The historical or "European" orientation in Canadian life and education can best be understood through an analysis of its principal components. These are: pre-Revolutionary Catholic France, which remains the dominant force among the French-Canadian third of the population; Puritanism from Scotland and from Colonial New England (that is, seventeenth-century England), which was originally concentrated in Nova Scotia and Ontario but subsequently spread throughout Canada; and Anglicanism, which has exerted its influence throughout Canada, but especially in Ontario, where John Strachan, Bishop of Toronto, attempted to establish an Anglican system in the first half of the nineteenth century.

These various traditions differ from one another in many important respects but they all in some degree contribute to the "quality" orientation of Canadian education. This ori-

entation has had many spokesmen in Canada, and in recent times some of the most prominent have been Hilda Neatby, Professor of History at the University of Saskatchewan and the only woman member of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences;¹ Arthur R. M. Lower, Professor of History at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario;² John Macdonald, Dean Emeritus of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Alberta;³ W. R. Taylor, late Principal of University College, Toronto;⁴ and Frank MacKinnon, Principal of Prince of Wales College, Prince Edward Island.⁵

These writers share a distrust of democracy, equality, America, and progressive education, and yearn with varying degrees of nostalgia for "an aristocratic revival" in education. They are alarmed by the demand of more and more young people for secondary and higher education. Faced with the forceful desire of the "masses" for more knowledge and for entrance to university, Taylor cries out, "the philistines are upon us in hosts."⁶ When educators talk of admitting all students to secondary education, says Neatby, "it is indeed clear that the keepers of the gate are opening the citadel to the barbarians."⁷

Much of the responsibility for the ills of Canadian education can be attributed, according to these writers, to an unfortunate espousal of the concept of democracy. Neatby is extremely critical of "the constant preoccupation with 'democracy' which characterizes the official educational philosophies. . . . In Canada . . . there seems no valid reason . . . why our educational aims should be cluttered up with this awkward word."⁸ We should stop being so concerned about the common man and instead turn our attention to the aristocratic élite upon whom

the quality of our civilization depends. "The 'democratic society' in the name of which education is being steadily watered down lives *only* on the creative efforts of the gifted few in all forms of endeavour, and on the ability of the majority in varying degrees to inspire, support, and use them. Political democracy, as Aristotle knew, is a dangerous kind of government."⁹

Democracy is regarded by members of this group as anathema because of its association with the idea of equality. McKinnon attacks forcefully the doctrine of equality in education and insists that we should respect inequalities among individuals, schools, and courses. He also points out the dangers in the phrase "equal opportunities," which "tends in practice to become insistence on 'the same opportunities,' which is a different thing."¹⁰ The essential fact that democracy ignores is "that men are not equal, and that they do not really desire equality," says Neatby, and she warns of "the danger of expressing democratic equality in terms of a dull level of mediocrity, the fatuous worship of the common man not because he is a man but because he is common."¹¹ We should accept the fact of nature that many children are extremely dull and it is a false charity to avoid treating them as inferior. "It is not only absurd, it is wrong to enter into a conspiracy to conceal their dullness. . . . There is no use, in the name of democracy or of any other cliché, dodging the fact that many children are not average."¹²

These European-oriented writers also place themselves firmly in opposition to any notion of equality between teacher and pupil. The position of the teacher should, these writers believe, be one of clearly defined superiority and authority. One of the principal indictments of the democratic, progressive, "American" approach to education is that it has weakened respect for law and authority and hence has produced a "flabby morality." Successful teaching must be based on a "firm and fixed moral law," and one of the essential conditions of learning is that the pupil must accept with deference his position of subordination to the teacher: "the pseudo-democratic assumption that teachers

and pupils are engaged in a joint voyage of discovery is a simple denial of the facts."¹³

It follows that "discipline" rather than "interest" is the pedagogical watchword of this group. To pander to the interests of the student is too redolent of equality to be acceptable: It is more important that he be taught obedience to rightful authority. Moreover, the pupil himself prefers to obey and to follow instructions rather than be bothered by self-conscious appeals to his interest. It is strange that "self-styled democrats should have such contempt for the average pupil as to believe him too stupid, too lazy, too blind to his interests and duties to be able to exhibit, even in adolescence, a reasonable readiness to take directions from one competent to give them unless he feels himself 'interested'."¹⁴ Discipline, on the other hand, is what contemporary education conspicuously lacks and needs. The adult's superior wisdom and experience place upon him the responsibility of exercising external control over children if they are to grow up properly. Unfortunately, lower standards of discipline have seeped into Canada from America, and "it is only a step from relaxation of discipline in conduct to relaxation of discipline in handwriting, spelling, pronunciation, and so on. When 'the lid comes off' in one direction, it is apt to come off in all."¹⁵ Even the traditional idea of formal discipline was too easily abandoned and education would do well to reinstate it.¹⁶

This concern over discipline is an important factor in the patronage of private schools in Canada. There is a strong feeling among this section of the population that discipline in the public schools is too lax, especially for boys. The sociological study of "Crestwood Heights" (in fact Forest Hills, a prosperous suburb of Toronto) found parents sending their boys to private school "for toughening under male masters, and for authoritarian discipline and corporal punishment."¹⁷ English-language private schools for boys often take as their model the English Public School, they frequently have Anglican connections, and they do not hesitate to underline the inequalities among men. In the first place, their fees make them inaccessible ex-

cept to the few who can bear the cost. Moreover, their appeal for many parents lies in their socially exclusive nature. Nor does it hurt them to be predominantly white, Christian institutions. Negroes, Jews, and non-Christians are widely regarded as second-class citizens in Canada and treated accordingly. The private school is merely acting as the epitome of the European orientation when it holds up the white Christian as the model before which other groups should acknowledge their inferiority.¹⁸

Many of these tendencies have received their most unequivocal expression in the Province of Quebec. About two-thirds of all private school enrollment is in this province. Private schools in Quebec enroll about 10 per cent of the school population; in the rest of Canada about 2.5 per cent; and in Canada as a whole about 4.5 per cent.¹⁹ The hierarchical and authoritarian nature of the Roman Catholic Church is largely responsible for the suspicion of equality in this province. The ubiquitous silver spire of the church dominating every French Canadian village is a constant symbol of the nature of authority in Quebec. Standing as a unique educational example of the dominance of ecclesiastical autocracy over French Canadian society is the Roman Catholic *collège*. No attempt to analyze its significance will be made here, as this has already been excellently done by the Abbé Duval elsewhere.²⁰ The organization of education in Catholic Quebec, with the *collège* as its keystone, has helped to produce a society divided into an élite, highly educated according to traditional academic and Thomistic principles and imbued with a sense of responsibility for spiritual and professional leadership, and a majority, with little education except in the Christian virtues of obedience, humility, and a readiness to follow leadership. Not only education is dominated by the Catholic hierarchy in Quebec. The Church is also influential in labor unions. Books and periodicals which are not considered wholesome are liable to confiscation. Newspapers do not openly criticize the Church nor print topics that would displease the hierarchy.²¹ French and English radio regularly broadcasts religious programs. No child below the age of

sixteen may attend a cinema. Films for adults must receive a permit to exhibit, and censorship of films is widely and frequently applied.

One peculiar form of inequality that has existed in Quebec until recently is that it has not been considered the right of any child to attend school at all. Free, compulsory education has been strenuously and successfully opposed by the Church. Sandiford commented frankly that "the leading authorities of the Roman Catholic Church declare themselves opposed to compulsory attendance of children at school, on the ground that it infringes the rights and liberties both of the Church and the parents."²² The children, apparently, were without rights. It was not until 1943 that Quebec attained compulsory education (from six to fourteen years). "It would be fatuous," says Sissons, "to contend that the long delay in accepting the policy of the western world had no relation to the church orientation of education in Quebec."²³ The compulsory education law gave the State the power to invade the home, a power that the Church did not accept as proper to the State. Free education has still not been granted in Quebec, except in a few places at the elementary level.* It is regarded with some suspicion. One recent analyst of educational thought in Quebec cites a writer who suggests that free education is "dangerous" because it has been fully realized only in socialist countries.²⁴

It is also in Quebec that inequality between the sexes is most marked in education. In Catholic schools, coeducation is out of the question at the secondary level. Even teachers in training are sexually segregated. In the *collèges* it is made clear to the boys that even the occasional companionship of girls for social activities or intellectual contacts is looked upon with disfavor. Boys are often reminded of the moral dangers that follow friendships with girls. Great importance is attached to virginity. The education of girls is not regarded as of equal impor-

* This was written before the enactment in Quebec of Bill No. 82 (July 1, 1961), which states that monthly fees for all children for whom the school board is responsible are to be abolished, free textbooks are to be provided, and compulsory school attendance is to be extended to the age of fifteen years.

tance to that of boys. It is assumed that marriage is the career of all girls and the Catholic school system accordingly prepares them for family life. Their distinctiveness from the opposite sex is emphasized by segregation and differentiation. "Through all grades, the curriculum seeks to build a truly feminine mentality. . . . In school, girls learn sewing, cooking, home maintenance."²⁵

It is characteristic of Quebec in particular, and of the European orientation in general, to see in certain traditional and absolute principles the guide to educational standards. The equalitarian tendencies that have entered Canadian life because of the power and propinquity of the United States have endangered the quality of Canadian education. What is needed is an adherence or, if necessary, a return to the perennial and fundamental sources and truths which have guided education through the ages. "The general lines of our public teaching are *strictly* fixed by the course of studies . . . which comes from *higher authorities* . . . a body of *directives* which it is the duty of each inspector to respect and *apply*. . . . the welfare of some hundreds of thousands of children cannot permit of any whimsical *interpretation* according to the various viewpoints of this one and that. The very first goal of our official course of studies is to found our school system on fundamental and *immutable* principles which it would *profit no one to change*. . . . Our course of studies . . . is the *vade mecum* of the inspectors, because every day they must see to its application and to the observance of both its spirit and *letter*."²⁶

American Orientation

The historical forces outlined above would be much more influential in shaping Canadian education if they were not so frequently and diametrically in opposition to the forces of geography. The small population, the vast distances, the moving frontier with its tough, pioneering conditions and its emancipation from traditional social patterns, have all contributed toward the development of a social equalitarianism. The tendency has been accentuated in the West by the need for rapid assimilation of the non-British immigrants who arrived in increasing numbers in the

second half of the nineteenth century. But most important of all has been the vulnerability of Canada to the influence of American ideas and values.

It is a strange irony that French Canada, which, unlike America, was unaffected by the French Revolution, is now belatedly having its traditional values of authority and hierarchy called into question by the second of the three Revolutionary demands, carried and transmitted by the United States. The rest of Canada, which shares a common language with its powerful neighbor, has long been susceptible to winds from the south. In education the tendency can be seen most clearly in the demand for equality of opportunity for all children. Many writers have expressed this "American" orientation, but a few may be taken to epitomize it: J. G. Althouse, late Chief Director of Education for Ontario;²⁷ Woodrow S. Lloyd, Minister of Education for Saskatchewan;²⁸ Charles E. Phillips, Professor of Education at the Ontario College of Education.²⁹

This group of educators emphasize the necessity for the system of education to reflect the democratic values of Canadian society. They insist that the alternative is a submission to totalitarianism. However inconvenient it may be administratively or pedagogically, a democracy must practice the ideals of equality and freedom in education, for there is no other way of producing democratic citizens. Children who do not enjoy equal opportunities of access to an education which will teach them to make their own choices and to think for themselves, says Althouse, "become the ready victims of agitators and demagogues and the dupes of dictators."³⁰ Lloyd points out the warning example of German education before the Nazi period which supported a dual system, one for the five to ten per cent economically, socially, and intellectually favored, and another for the rest. This system cultivated attitudes of superiority in one small group and inferiority in the majority, "making possible the submission and lack of self-determination upon which authoritarian leadership has thrived."³¹ By contrast he feels that Canada is committed to the North American concept of equal opportunity for

all. "To deny access to good schools to any who may profit, to allow avoidable barriers to remain, to expect, at the same time, the full reward of democratic association is not only to deny right, it is to deny reality."³²

Educators of the American orientation also tend to adopt an equalitarian attitude toward the various studies and to question the traditional hierarchy of subjects in the prescribed academic curriculum. They accept the idea of elective subjects in the high school, cast doubt upon the traditional assumption that there are some subjects essential to any man's education, and express skepticism concerning the value of the scholarly disciplines for the great majority of students. They are opposed to the "European" educators' defense of "disciplinary" subjects like Latin, and in this they seem to be supported by the vast majority of Canadian students who, once high school and their university entrance requirements are left behind, use their freedom of choice to ignore the sacred cows of traditional education. The study of classical languages in Canada has declined steadily during the last decade.³³ So few students in Canadian universities are now pursuing Latin with any degree of seriousness that the supply of Latin teachers is drying up, and the subject seems doomed. "The demise of Latin is a clear trend in Canadian education."³⁴

Newer candidates for inclusion in the curriculum are correspondingly more welcomed by the American orientation. The prime favorite in this group is science, although there has been little development in science teaching in practice because of the shortage of science teachers and the relative failure of efforts to encourage existing science teachers to improve their qualifications. Nevertheless, the authority of science in Canadian education has steadily increased. More and more educators of this orientation are attracted by the democratic connotations of science—that all men are equal before the scientific fact, and that the public nature of science makes its findings equally accessible to all who submit to its discipline. It is free from the associations with privilege, authority, and a traditional élite which still

adhere to the humanities. Science is by far the most respected method of inquiry in Canada today and hence the attempt to make a respectable woman out of the much maligned study of education has resulted in the enthusiastic marriage of science and pedagogy. Methods of teaching are scientifically analyzed and based; the psychological study of the child is almost exclusively scientific or pseudo-scientific; examinations are increasingly objective in an attempt to clothe them with the prestige of science.³⁵

Equality of Concern

The major consequence flowing from the influence of Canadian educators of this American orientation has been a commitment to the ideal of universal education. All children, it is maintained, are equally worthy of receiving the benefits of State intervention in education. Upper Canada made its decision in favor of the principle of education for all as early as 1816, thus anticipating England by more than half a century. Popular common schools, however, languished until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the balance of sentiment turned against the European, aristocratic pattern. Ontario organized its schools on American lines, and was subsequently copied throughout the West, where the propensity to copy American practice was increased by the common problem of the assimilation of immigrants of varied backgrounds and tongues.³⁶ In English-speaking Canada, then, the pattern that has developed is predominantly American: The grade system is universal, there is a one-track type of organization, and the comprehensive high school is preferred to European selectiveness.

A second major effect of this orientation can be seen in the tendency to raise non-intellectual aspects of the child's education to at least equal parity with the training of the mind. "Education is not merely an intellectual process," says McCulley, "it is the education of a whole person; in the final analysis it is the education of the feelings and emotions which justifies, or if badly done condemns, the whole of our educational philosophy. . . . The body goes to school as

well as the mind. . . . We have been apt to over-emphasize the intellectual or knowledge factor."³⁷ Adaptability to meet unpredictable situations is more to be valued than factual information. Human knowledge has become so vast and complex that the school cannot hope to provide its pupils with a fixed pattern of conduct to meet every situation. "There must be less store set by knowledge often irrelevant and quickly antiquated, and more concern to create in the young certain attitudes of mind."³⁸

This concept of the total responsibility of the educator for all aspects of the child's development is a concomitant of the increasing willingness of home, church, and economic and political institutions to shift some of their traditional functions onto the school. The American-oriented educator feels that the school "must attempt all that the other socializing agencies fail or neglect to do."³⁹ As a result, there has been in recent years an increasing provision for courses in the field of interpersonal relations, courses with titles like "Effective Living" and "Health and Personal Development." Ironically, one of the factors that has made the school less able to resist pressures to make it extend the range of its moral responsibilities is its previous history of connection with religion and the training of moral character. Moreover, the insecurity of the semiprofession of teaching in a pioneering country where professions and professionals were accorded little prestige rendered teachers more liable to attempt to prove their worth by taking on any task society offered them.⁴⁰

Concern for Quality

However, the educational task offered to the school by Canadian society has changed only slowly and is still characterized by traditional concerns. "The extent to which our Canadian schools actually did depart from traditional practices was much less than the books and speeches, and the criticisms, might have implied."⁴¹ And here we come to the heart of the Canadian dilemma, for these traditional concerns and practices have been based on the European orientation of an elite concept of education, rather than on the

equalitarian demands of Canadian geography.

The European-style grammar schools of Upper Canada, which were the products of Bishop Strachan's attempt to establish an aristocratic Anglican system, became popular high schools in their recruitment but they remained training schools for the university and the professions in their curriculum. Today the Canadian high school is still predominantly a university-preparatory institution, although nine out of ten of its students do not go on to the university. This is especially true of secondary schools in rural areas and smaller centers, which have seldom offered any subjects other than those required for university entrance. It is the traditional academic curriculum which has prestige in Canada and most students attempt to master it. However, there is enough of the American orientation in Canadian life to prevent the introduction of a European system of segregation or streaming to accompany this curriculum. One writer, who considers this solution to Canada's problem, concludes: "I see little prospect of it coming to pass in the immediate future. It involves a concept of authority and regimentation not presently compatible with our social organization. Our people consider that everyone should have the right to try, even if the prospect of success is limited."⁴² In this context, "to try" means to attempt to master the traditional academic curriculum.

A "quality" education is still measured by the amount of knowledge or "intellectual discipline" acquired. When criticisms are made of "progressive education" or undue American influence they are likely to claim that the schools are betraying their traditional trust as guardians of knowledge. The school should adhere strictly to its historical task of furnishing and exercising the intellect. "No one has yet revealed anything more useful in education than the training of the mind."⁴³ Knowledge, moreover, should not be exploited, as it tends to be in America, but respected and guarded, as the European universities have shown for centuries. The experimental approach to education "which for some years past has been

on the ascendant on this continent" cannot make any important contribution toward maintaining the Canadian way of life: "It can never substitute itself for the accumulated experience of the race. And the accumulated experience of the race is, of course, to be found in the corpus of knowledge."⁴⁴

The quality of education is also endangered, it is maintained, when the school steps outside its traditional domain and tries to assume new responsibilities. Some schools have developed services which help in developing the character and personality of the child: health services, psychological diagnosis and treatment, guidance, and recreational activities. But all these can and should be provided by other agencies and are "a positive harm if they are allowed to interfere with the traditional purpose of the school." The curriculum cannot possibly allow for all the demands of life: It can give only "a general preparation for employment." It is foolish for the school to try to do too much, to make silk purses out of sows' ears, or to teach all children to read, regardless of their unequal backgrounds: "If there are no good books in the house, if no adult member of the family reads or, at least, knows the value of reading, or if opportunities for reading are confined to the comics or big sister's love story magazines, it is ridiculous to expect the school to develop in its pupils a capacity to read."⁴⁵

It is clear, then, that educators of this traditional orientation do not envisage a secondary education as the equal right of all children. On the contrary, it is merely "pseudo-democracy" to insist on "secondary education for all." The quality of secondary education can be maintained and raised only by retaining the high school curriculum as a university preparation and by reserving the high school for the intellectually able. The others "should not be allowed to interfere with the clearly defined intellectual purposes of the school." It has been suggested that the proportion of children thus excluded from secondary education would be about 70 per cent. "If . . . this should be so, it is all the more imperative for us to get the maxi-

mum advantage from the remaining thirty percent." We should stop worrying about why our high school students quit. If they prove themselves unable or unwilling to profit from the traditional academic curriculum, "they should not only be allowed to 'quit', they should be obliged to withdraw." And what will be their fate? "For many of them the solution would probably be a regular job with hard work, and special opportunities for improvement and recreation in their spare time."⁴⁶

Unequal Opportunities

Unfortunately for the young people concerned, this attitude ignores the effect of Canada's major economic problem—unemployment. One out of every ten Canadian workers is without a job, and the situation is worst among the unskilled. This means that young men and women leaving school without skills are at the bottom of a long list of disappointed job-applicants. One of the strange features of the current unemployment situation is that there is a grave shortage of labor in some fields, especially those requiring skill and education. At the height of the 1961 unemployment in Ontario there were lists of jobs available at all of Ontario's Unemployment Insurance Commission's offices. But almost all these jobs required literacy. At the same time there were 125 applicants for every unskilled job vacancy in the province.⁴⁷

What is the cause of this disequilibrium? The total economic picture is complex but when we focus merely on the contribution of the educational system, it becomes clear that Canadian education has fallen between two stools. By trying to combine an American-style popular high school with a European-style college-preparatory curriculum it has ensured that the majority of high school students, who do not go on to university, will find the curriculum inappropriate or unmanageable. As a result, they do just what Neatby recommends—they quit. About three out of every four Canadian students leave before completing high school. It is estimated that there are at least two million "functional illiterates" in the country.

Compared with other countries of comparable economic development, the enrollment in Canadian secondary schools is extremely low and the drop-out rate alarmingly high. Table 1 gives an indication of the rate at which students leave high school.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF PUPILS IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, BY GRADES^a

| Grade | Enrollment |
|-------|------------|
| 1 | 403,273 |
| 7 | 265,301 |
| 8 | 219,269 |
| 9 | 185,106 |
| 10 | 134,239 |
| 11 | 91,801 |
| 12 | 58,626 |

The situation is not even throughout Canada. In general, the provinces of the West, which have been more deeply influenced by the American orientation, have shown a stronger power to retain their students in school than have the provinces of the East, which have remained more faithful to the European orientation. Illiteracy and lack of schooling are most frequently found in Newfoundland, the Maritimes, and Quebec, apart from the Yukon, the Northwest Territories, and the remoter northern parts of the other provinces. Table 2 shows the regional differences in holding power.

The last decade has seen an increasing awareness of lack of equality in the educational opportunities of Canadian children. Nevertheless, between 1951 and 1959, high school enrollment increased only from 51 per cent to 59 per cent of the total age group.⁵⁰

Conclusion

The solution to the problem of reducing these gross inequalities, while at the same time improving the quality of Canadian education, lies in three directions: curriculum, teachers, and support. In the first place, there is an urgent need for a curriculum, particularly at the high school level, which is more flexible in conception, more sensitive to individual and local needs, more responsive to recent developments, more realistic in terms of the lives of the students, and more meaningful in terms of their changing powers of conceptualization. The emergence of such a curriculum is at present hampered by the pattern of provincial control of education. Provincial departments of education lay down the curriculum, prescribe texts, and dictate even minute details of methodology. One motion presented at a Canadian provincial teachers' conference in 1961 petitioned the provincial department of education for permission to use the printed word as a visual aid in the learning of French in grades 5 and 6, in addition to oral

TABLE 2. PER CENT OF POPULATION IN SCHOOL, BY AGES^a

| Province | 6 Years | 9 Years | 14 Years | 15 Years | 17 Years |
|----------------------|---------|---------|----------|----------|----------|
| Newfoundland | 53.4 | 96.1 | 91.9 | 77.9 | 31.9 |
| Prince Edward Island | 58.7 | 96.6 | 93.8 | 80.0 | 31.8 |
| Nova Scotia | 73.5 | 95.8 | 93.2 | 84.4 | 41.0 |
| New Brunswick | 44.4 | 95.2 | 90.6 | 78.7 | 34.2 |
| Quebec | 36.0 | 92.9 | 79.8 | 59.3 | 25.5 |
| Ontario | 62.8 | 95.2 | 91.8 | 82.9 | 38.8 |
| Manitoba | 51.7 | 95.9 | 92.1 | 79.7 | 41.9 |
| Saskatchewan | 42.6 | 96.8 | 95.0 | 85.3 | 47.1 |
| Alberta | 42.0 | 96.1 | 95.1 | 87.6 | 48.9 |
| British Columbia | 46.5 | 95.0 | 94.0 | 87.6 | 53.1 |
| Canada | 48.6 | 94.6 | 88.6 | 75.7 | 36.7 |

work.⁵¹ It is hard to say which is worse—an authority which lays down that the printed word may *not* be used in French in grades 5 and 6, or a teacher who feels he may not use it without first petitioning the government.

Provincial control of the curriculum combines the worst of both worlds. It lacks the local pride and initiative and the sensitivity to regional requirements that often accompany local control. And it lacks the broader wisdom and the degree of support that could be made available through federal control. The Research Director of the Canadian Teachers' Federation has recently pointed out that the province is clearly too small a unit to support the necessary research into curriculum problems. "The logical grounds for the assertion that 'the school curriculum is a provincial matter' are not at all obvious. On the contrary, the establishment of a national advisory body to coordinate and experiment with curricula would gradually lead to a decreased appeal to traditional methods and unsupported assertions, and to the emergence of a science of curriculum development."⁵²

Moreover, by reserving to itself the responsibility for all major educational decisions, the provincial government keeps individual schools and teachers in a state of irresponsibility and immaturity, and hence prevents the growth of a genuine profession of teaching. "To delegate progressively to competent schools," says Lloyd, "the authority to develop curricula, to select texts, and to examine, would, in my opinion, be a mark of maturity, and even more mature performance might well result."⁵³ And this brings us to the second facet of the proposed solution—teachers. The reason why Canadian provincial governments have taken all educational responsibility themselves is that they have judged their teachers unfit to exercise it. Unfortunately, there is much justification for this belief, but the problem is not simple, because teachers who are not treated as professional people will tend to react in such a way as to justify their treatment.

Before Canadian teachers can be entrusted with professional responsibilities certain im-

portant changes will have to occur in the educational scene. Salary scales will have to be made more professional by greater rewards for positions of leadership and responsibility and for demonstrated ability in the classroom. Tenure arrangements will have to be made more universally humane and satisfactory. The disastrously high rate of turnover in teaching positions will have to be reduced. The training of teachers will have to include more study of philosophy, sociology, and problems of professionalism. Members of school boards will have to assume more enlightened attitudes toward academic freedom and the nature of a profession.

But, again, these changes are unlikely to come about as long as young teachers are sent from the teachers' colleges into the classrooms as ill-prepared and incompetent as they are at present. Not one Canadian teacher in four holds a university degree. For elementary school teachers the figure is less than one in ten.⁵⁴ Many fewer than half of all teachers in the country have as much as senior matriculation plus one year of training. Moreover, the trend is not encouraging, as Table 3 shows.

It will be seen that the proportion of teachers with less than thirteen years of schooling increased from 40.9 per cent to 42 per cent during the period. The East-West differences (with the exception of Nova Scotia) will also be noted.

Professionalism among Canadian teachers is rendered still less likely by the fact that they appear to hold a nonprofessional image of themselves and to set themselves low standards. When the Canadian Education Association sampled the opinions of various groups with respect to the appropriate length of training for teachers they found that only 8 per cent of the business, industrial, and professional group considered that a grade 12 education was adequate for a high school teacher. The teachers' group, however, were satisfied with lower standards, and 33 per cent of them thought a grade 12 education adequate. For elementary school teachers, 15 per cent of the nonteachers' group thought a grade 11 education sat-

TABLE 3. PER CENT OF TEACHERS WITH LESS THAN SENIOR MATRICULATION PLUS ONE YEAR OF TRAINING, BY PROVINCE, 1952-1957⁵⁵

| Province | 1952-53 | 1953-54 | 1954-55 | 1955-56 | 1956-57 |
|----------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Newfoundland | 84.1 | 84.1 | 83.5 | 81.4 | 79.7 |
| Prince Edward Island | 64.5 | 65.9 | 64.9 | 64.2 | 64.4 |
| Nova Scotia | 47.2 | 43.2 | 42.4 | 41.5 | 39.0 |
| New Brunswick | 86.5 | 84.5 | 84.0 | 84.1 | 83.7 |
| Quebec (Catholic) | 66.3 | 65.3 | 64.9 | 63.7 | 63.0 |
| Quebec (Protestant) | 34.4 | 35.2 | 38.0 | 40.7 | 43.1 |
| Ontario | 26.5 | 28.5 | 28.2 | 30.9 | 32.8 |
| Manitoba | 23.9 | 25.1 | 30.3 | 29.6 | 29.1 |
| Saskatchewan | 16.7 | 14.8 | 11.8 | 9.2 | 8.0 |
| Alberta | 23.5 | 25.2 | 27.7 | 28.7 | 29.7 |
| British Columbia | 12.5 | 12.5 | 13.4 | 13.1 | 13.9 |
| Canada | 40.9 | 41.2 | 41.4 | 41.6 | 42.0 |

factory; 21 per cent of the teachers' group were satisfied with this standard.⁵⁶

Another reason why the caliber of Canadian teachers is not better is, of course, low salaries. This brings us to the third and final aspect of our solution—support. The inability of schools to attract teachers of quality may be inferred from Table 4.

TABLE 4. MEDIAN SALARIES OF TEACHERS IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1957-58, IN DOLLARS⁵⁷

| | |
|------------------------|------|
| Newfoundland | 1995 |
| Prince Edward Island | 1751 |
| Nova Scotia | 2629 |
| New Brunswick | 2275 |
| Ontario | 3738 |
| Manitoba | 3058 |
| Saskatchewan | 3534 |
| Alberta | 3742 |
| British Columbia | 4172 |
| Canada (except Quebec) | 3470 |

The truth is that Canada does not value learning to the extent that it will pay enough for it to ensure both quality of education and equality of opportunity. The country's expenditure on all elementary, secondary, and higher education is much less than her expenditure for defense; it is only about half, per capita, that of a country like the Soviet

Union, and it totals only about three per cent of the gross national product⁵⁸—a wholly inadequate proportion for a country with Canada's problems. Canadian politicians do not look upon education as being a major concern. The portfolio of Minister of Education is not sought after, it carries little prestige, and controls no patronage or votes. It is usually assigned to members who are new and untried. In 1953, at a time when most provincial governments had been in office for some time, nine out of ten ministers of education were holding their first portfolios.

The financial problem facing Canadian universities is acute. Government contributions to universities in Canada are much smaller than in the United Kingdom or in the United States. Canadian corporations, moreover, give comparatively little support. According to the Industrial Foundation on Education, a representative group of 878 Canadian corporations in 1951 contributed only nine-hundredths of one per cent of their taxable income to universities. Industrial and commercial contributions for all purposes totaled only \$2.7 million, or three per cent, of the total expenditure of higher education institutions.

The obvious source of support for the campaign to solve this double-headed problem would be the federal government. At the Canadian Conference on Education, held

in Ottawa in 1958, 31 resolutions were adopted. Of these, ten urged governments, especially the federal government, to give more financial support to education. But the federal government in its attempts to ameliorate the situation, is faced with the perennial problem of provincial autonomy and jealousy. Ideally, there should be a Department of Education at federal cabinet level. But this will have to await constitutional change, as education is a provincial responsibility under Section 93 of the British North America Act. There is no constitutional reason, however, why a National Bureau of Education should not be formed to give attention to some of these problems. Such a proposal was made as long ago as 1895 but then, and on subsequent occasions, it was always killed by the province of Quebec. Perhaps the best that can be hoped for in view of Canada's divided condition is a National Education Foundation along the lines of the National Science Foundation in the United States.

But all such efforts will be vitiated as long as Canada fails to solve the basic dilemma outlined in this article. At present she is struggling, in Jungian terms, between her loyalty to the archetypal image of the aristocrat and that of the democrat. Unfortunately, as has been shown, the struggle is between conflicting factions, whose very opposition causes them to harden their positions into an uncompromising belligerency. This is an unhealthy and unproductive situation, because the justification of artificial positions consumes energies that should be spent on the solution of the vital problem of building an educational model that will combine as many as possible of the strengths and advantages of both the aristocrat and the democrat. Only thus will Canada come to grips with the task of providing equality of opportunity to enjoy a high quality education.

REFERENCES

¹ Hilda Neatby, *So Little for the Mind* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1953); *A Temperate Dispute* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1954).

² Arthur R. M. Lower, *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada* (Toronto: Longmans, Green, 1959); "Education in a Growing Canada," in

Canadian Education Today, ed. Joseph Katz (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1956), 1-13.

³ John Macdonald, *Mind, School and Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1952).

⁴ W. R. Taylor, "The University and Education," in *Education For Tomorrow*, ed. Richard M. Saunders (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1946), 49-63.

⁵ Frank MacKinnon, *The Politics of Education* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1960).

⁶ Taylor, "University and Education," *loc. cit.*, 61-62.

⁷ Neatby, *So Little for the Mind*, 333.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 47-48 [my italics].

¹⁰ MacKinnon, *Politics of Education*, 56. Since Webster defines "equal" as "exactly the same in measure, quantity, number, or degree," MacKinnon's argument seems either false or very badly expressed.

¹¹ Neatby, *So Little for the Mind*, 316-317.

¹² *Ibid.*, 321.

¹³ Neatby, *Temperate Dispute*, 70.

¹⁴ Neatby, *So Little for the Mind*, 145-146.

¹⁵ Lower, "Education in a Growing Canada," *loc. cit.*, 6.

¹⁶ Macdonald, *Mind, School and Civilization* is an attempt to reinstate the idea of formal discipline as a worthy goal of education. See, especially, Ch. 3, "Formal Discipline—Intellectual," and Ch. 4, "Formal Discipline—Moral."

¹⁷ John R. Seeley, R. Alexander Sim, and Elizabeth W. Loosley, *Crestwood Heights* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1956), 308.

¹⁸ See, e.g., Neatby, *So Little for the Mind*, 17, 330-331; K. M. Glazier, "Canada: Religion and Morals," *The Year Book of Education*, 1951, eds. J. A. Lauwerys and N. Hans (London: Evans, 1951), 381; Charles Bilodeau, "Canada: Quebec," *Year Book of Education*, 1951, 398; Lower, "Education in a Growing Canada," *loc. cit.*, 2.

¹⁹ Charles E. Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada* (Toronto: Gage, 1957), 297.

²⁰ Roch Duval, "The Roman Catholic Colleges of Quebec," *Education and Philosophy: The Year Book of Education*, 1957, eds. George Z. F. Bereday and Joseph Lauwerys (Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Co., 1957), 270-285.

²¹ For example, the development of the important worker-priest movement received no treatment in either English or French Quebec newspapers.

²² Peter Sandiford (ed.), *Comparative Education: Studies of the Educational Systems of Six Modern Nations* (London: Dent, 1918), 360.

²³ C. B. Sissons, *Church and State in Canadian Education* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1959), 153-154; see also Woodrow S. Lloyd, *The Role of*

Government in Canadian Education (Toronto: Gage, 1959), 40.

³⁴ Arthur Tremblay, "Contemporary Educational Thought in French-speaking Quebec," Paper read at the *Fifth Annual Conference of the Canadian Association of Professors of Education* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1960), 13.

³⁵ Bilodeau, "Canada: Quebec," *loc. cit.*, 401.

³⁶ *Report of the Superintendent of Education, Province of Quebec*, (1952-53), 36. Quoted by MacKinnon, *Politics of Education*, 34 [my italics].

³⁷ J. G. Althouse, "Organization of a School System," in *Education for Tomorrow*, ed. Richard M. Saunders (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1946), 21-38; *Structure and Aims of Canadian Education* (Toronto: Gage, 1949).

³⁸ Lloyd, *Rôle of Government in Canadian Education*.

³⁹ Charles E. Phillips, "Canada," *The Year Book of Education, 1950*, eds. G. B. Jeffery et al. (London: Evans, 1950), 309-343; *Development of Education in Canada*; "Education," in *The Contemporary Culture of Canada*, ed. Julian Park (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University, 1957), 293-326.

⁴⁰ Althouse, *Structure and Aims*, 70.

⁴¹ Lloyd, *Rôle of Government*, 45.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 44.

⁴³ Edward F. Sheffield, "Canadian Education in the 1950's," Paper read at the *Second Annual Conference of the Canadian College of Teachers* (Ottawa: Canadian College of Teachers, 1959), 55.

⁴⁴ W. H. Swift, *Trends in Canadian Education* (Toronto: Gage, 1958), 65.

⁴⁵ For a critical analysis of this trend, see Paul Nash, "The Assumptions and Consequences of Objective Examinations," *Canadian Education and Research Digest*, Vol. I, No. 1 (March 1961), 42-50.

⁴⁶ See Althouse, "Organization of a School System," *loc. cit.*, 25-27; Fred Clarke, *Secondary Education in Canada: A Survey of Tendencies Past and Present*, *The Year Book of Education*, 1934, ed. Lord Eustace Percy (London: Evans, 1934), 576-577.

⁴⁷ Joseph McCulley, "Primary and Secondary Education," in *Education for Tomorrow*, 46-47.

⁴⁸ Althouse, *Structure and Aims*, 63. For an official statement of support for the philosophy which holds the teacher responsible for the physical, emotional, and moral—as well as intellectual—development of the child, see *Handbook for Teachers in the Protestant Schools of the Province of Quebec* (Quebec: Department of Education, 1957; with 1960 Supplement), 10.

⁴⁹ Althouse, *Structure and Aims*, 37.

⁵⁰ See John R. Seeley, "Canada: Education and Morals," *The Year Book of Education, 1951*, eds. J. A. Lauwerys and N. Hans (London: Evans, 1951), 390.

⁵¹ Swift, *Trends*, 62.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 78.

⁵³ MacKinnon, *Politics of Education*, 112-113.

⁵⁴ Lower, "Education in a Growing Canada," *loc. cit.*, 12-13.

⁵⁵ MacKinnon, *Politics of Education*, 68-69.

⁵⁶ Neatby, *So Little for the Mind*, 230-231, 333; *Temperate Dispute*, 18-19.

⁵⁷ Barbara Moon, "Two Million Illiterates: Canada's Obsolete Tenth," *Maclean's* (6 May, 1961), 48.

⁵⁸ Abstracted from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Survey of Elementary and Secondary Education, 1954-56* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1959), 42-43 (Table 6).

⁵⁹ Abstracted from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Review of Canadian Education, Census, 1951* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1958), 12, 16 (Tables 5, 7).

⁶⁰ Sheffield, *loc. cit.*, 48.

⁶¹ T. H. G. Jackson, "Permission to Teach," *The Teachers' Magazine* (Quebec), Vol. XLI, No. 206 (April 1961), 4-6.

⁶² F. G. Robinson, "The Case for a National Body to Study School Curricula," *Canadian Teachers' Federation News Letter*, Vol. XVI, No. 3 (March 1961), 4.

⁶³ Lloyd, *Rôle of Government*, 52.

⁶⁴ All teachers: 23 per cent. Elementary school teachers: 8.9 per cent. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Salaries and Qualifications of Teachers in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1957-1958* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1959), 68. The figures are for nine provinces, excluding Quebec. If the figures for Quebec were available and included, the percentages would be appreciably lower.

⁶⁵ Canadian Teachers' Federation Research Division, *Information Bulletin 58-2, Trends in Certification Standards, 1939-1957* (Ottawa: Canadian Teachers' Federation, 1958), 8.

⁶⁶ M. E. LaZerte, "Canada," *The Year Book of Education, 1953*, eds. Robert King Hall, N. Hans, and J. A. Lauwerys (London: Evans, 1953), 234.

⁶⁷ Abstracted from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Salaries and Qualifications of Teachers in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1957-1958* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1959), 17-18 (Tables 6, 7).

⁶⁸ J. Bascom St. John, *Spotlight on Canadian Education* (Toronto: Gage, 1959), 111.

CONTEMPORARY FINNISH SCHOOL LEGISLATION

O. K. KYÖSTIÖ¹

Although Finland was the first European country to grant women the right to vote (1906), in educational reform it has lagged behind other countries. The middle class, following their victory in the civil war in 1918, maintained the dual school system—the elementary “folk school” for the masses, paralleled by preparatory and secondary schools for the middle and upper classes. No legal barriers prevented workers’ children from attending secondary school, but economic factors and value preferences caused proportionately few lower-class children to attend. Until the end of the thirties about 10 per cent of each age group continued their studies in secondary school.

But these social features of education have undergone a gradual transformation. Today all children are together in elementary school, and the proportion entering secondary school, usually from the fourth grade, is at least a third. Almost all working-class parents want their children to attain a higher economic and social position than their own, and the prevalent belief is that some secondary schooling is needed for this.

Notwithstanding these developments the Finnish educational system has been resistant to the type of reorganization demanded by modern social and economic conditions. It is true that numerous educational committees have been at work and certain laws have been amended or even completely revised. But all too frequently amendment or revision has not been reform. This becomes clear as one examines contemporary legislation on elementary schools, secondary schools, vocational schools, and teacher training.

Elementary Schools

The new Elementary School Act and the corresponding Elementary School Statute

¹ Prepared with the editorial cooperation of D. J. Weeren.

came into force August 1, 1958, canceling the 1921 Compulsory Education Act and its revisions. The main achievement of the new measures was probably the orderly compilation of previously disconnected regulations.

The Finnish public elementary school, known as folk school, is now in principle an eight-year day school, enrolling pupils from seven to fifteen years of age, the period of compulsory education. For the time being, a student may pass into a parallel secondary school for the final four years of the elementary program, or into a prevocational school for the final two years of the program. The new law provides that the eight-year elementary program be divided into a regular folk school (six years) and senior classes (two years). The so-called communal lower secondary school, begun experimentally in 1946, has now been legally adopted to parallel the senior classes. Unfortunately the law requires that the curriculum of the communal lower secondary school correspond to that of the state secondary school. This stipulation is regrettable because it prevents the adjustment of the curriculum to local needs. The Elementary School Statute failed to conceive of the communal lower secondary school and the senior classes as alternate routes to the same goal, each using methods best suited to its students. Rather than being parallels, the routes may well become divergent.

A salient feature of the new law is that it prescribes subject matter and textbooks, thus seriously restricting the initiative of the schools, although in practice they may not be as hamstrung as the letter of the law suggests. However, in appraising the educational role of the central government in Finland one should not overlook the fact that communication and cooperation among the public elementary schools in the same commune are wholly lacking and also the fact

that private elementary schools are virtually nonexistent due to excessively rigid controls. Such private institutions are to be found only in certain linguistically divided areas (some eight per cent of the Finnish population are Swedish-speaking). The rights of the linguistic minority are upheld in various sections of the law clearly in opposition to the interests of the majority.

The training of exceptional children, the promotion of health services, as well as the policy of giving necessary economic assistance to families in order to keep children in school are features of the Elementary School Act deserving praise.

The Elementary School Act opens up the possibility of using specialized teachers in the elementary grades proper on a broader scale than before. Special instructors have long been employed in towns for conducting classes in practical subjects, but in other subjects specialists were found only at the continuation school level.² It must, however, be regarded as a mistake for subjects to be grouped from the outset according to the antiquated secondary school pattern when it would have sufficed simply to emphasize specialization. Likewise, it should have been considered whether, at least at the present stage, there were legitimate grounds for holding separate examinations for general primary school teachers and specialized teachers. For it is apparent that the final stage of compulsory education in Finland calls for speedy revision, which means that teacher preparation must be reorganized with a broader perspective in view than at present.

The Elementary School Statute requires passing an examination in primary school administration before a teacher may pass from probationary to certified status. Requiring supplementary qualifications is in principle a justifiable aim, but the requirement should be truly conducive to improving teaching standards in accordance with Section 61 of the Act. Teacher aspirants receive the basic introduction to school ad-

² The continuation school is an added year of education beyond the compulsory elementary school program.

ministration in the training institutions, and this is adequate for most needs. There are many areas of greater importance to teaching which need to be studied in the context of one's early teaching experience. Therefore the examination in school administration ought to be given only to candidates for the post of superintendent or of principal of one of the larger schools.

Young people's activities and educational experimentation are without question important matters, but responsibility for them is misplaced by the Elementary School Statute. It is high time to abandon the idea that the elementary school teacher is a Jack-of-all-Trades. Work in the area of young people's activities is of a different nature from teaching and requires special leaders and an organization of its own. The elementary school teacher should be left free to contribute according to his inclination and ability, perhaps through offering courses for further education. As for experimental activities, the provisions of the law chiefly specify what the experimentally inclined are allowed to do after obtaining permission from the Board of Education. At least in its present form, the Board of Education is not the appropriate agency to direct educational experiments, for they presuppose an open mind and an attitude of scientific inquiry.

Secondary Schools

The secondary schools of Finland continue to operate according to a system set up by the School Statute of 1872. It goes without saying that certain provisions of the Statute have had to be amended. No fundamental reforms of the system itself have been instituted, however.

At the time the Secondary Statute was enacted Finland had no private secondary schools. Today they are more numerous than state secondary schools. If one thinks that the private schools of Finland, like those of England and America, represent diverse forms and traditions and independence of spirit, then one is sadly mistaken. Private schools can be founded only with government permission, and their academic and administrative operations must conform to

government regulations. It is true that the state generously subsidizes the private schools (nearly two-thirds of expenditures) but at the same time it exercises strict control. Usually the most earnest wish of the private schools is to be taken over by the government. The teachers do not show concern over measures taken by the state (except measures affecting salaries), but they often resist the attempts of their principals to bring about reforms, offering in this regard a contrast to their American counterparts.

One of the most striking reforms in the secondary school system, in the favorable sense of the word, is the regulation passed in 1954 concerning selection for secondary education. Formerly selection was based only on an entrance examination taken at age ten or later by those pupils whose parents desired it. The new regulation added other criteria—success in the elementary grades, evaluation by the teacher, the pupil's age—and it limited uniform nationwide achievement tests to the mother tongue and arithmetic. However, the report by the elementary school teacher suffers from indefiniteness, and the factor of age is not given sufficient weight, particularly in view of the regrettable policy of administering the same tests to ten-year-olds and thirteen-year-olds. Further defects of the present selection systems are the lack of standardized tests, the total absence of intelligence tests, and the setting of the selection procedure within a framework of two days of examinations in a strange secondary school milieu.

In theory all capable children in Finland have an equal opportunity for secondary education, but in practice the cost and trouble involved prevent many from taking advantage of the opportunity. Compulsory education is not free if the child attends a secondary school. To be sure, at least 10 per cent of the places in private schools and substantially more in state schools (about 30 per cent) are reserved for the children of poor families, but tuition fees are by no means the only item of expenditure in schooling. However, an act dating from 1949 provides for assistance to secondary school students, and state grants and loans

are also available for children enrolled in technical schools.

The legislation passed in 1948 regulating the secondary school curricula did not signify any essential reform. It specifies the subjects to be taught as well as the class hours to be devoted to each subject. Since the courses and textbooks are prescribed, the schools are left with little scope for independent effort.

Examinations in secondary schools have been the object of a number of new regulations since the War. No outside examinations are given during the secondary school course, and this is doubtless as it should be. The uniform nationwide external examination is given at the end of the course. The examination has the effect of dictating the student's secondary school program because he must pass in three languages (mother tongue, Swedish, and, usually, German or English) and mathematics or alternatively a so-called general knowledge test. The fact that Swedish, which is of little consequence in professional studies or practical activities, remains obligatory is quite as astonishing as, for instance, the fact that Russian is almost totally ignored.

Another constraining influence on secondary education in Finland is the rigid coupling of the teaching position to a set combination of subjects. The narrow classification of positions restricts unnecessarily the possibilities for a convenient arrangement of the school program.

Vocational Schools

A competitive concern for technical progress has made vocational training the center of lively interest in all countries today. In Finland it is talked about a good deal, but disagreement among the various ministries—vocational training is administratively divided among all the possible ministries—hampers reform. On the higher levels of government the several branches of economic enterprise seem to be held rigidly separate.

After prolonged effort a new law was passed in 1958 to regulate vocational training in the arts and crafts and in industrial

skills. Like the Elementary School Act, the Vocational School Act is based on old-fashioned thinking about the classification of schools, which makes for difficulties in flexibly integrating educational institutions. The concept of basic vocational instruction, comparable to vocational orientation courses in elementary schools, is a valid one. But the law should have been concerned primarily with the distribution of financial and policy-making responsibilities for the development of vocational training by the local communities. Vocational training requires considerably more freedom of movement than general basic education, for it must be adapted to the needs of the community and the economic region. The Vocational School Act militates against this flexibility through excessive classification of schools and through casting the government in the role of owner of the schools. The role of sponsor and guardian of vocational schools (as well as of general educational institutions!) would become the government better.

Teacher Training

The most unsuccessful part of the new legislation on education is that relating to teacher training. Within a period of a few years numerous enactments governing the training of teachers have taken effect without a single one of them being a real forward step: Teacher training still takes place in seminaries (normal schools) based on a nineteenth-century conception of the teacher.

The Seminary Statute, explaining the Seminary Act of 1958, reflects the ignorance of its framers about current thinking on teacher training in countries most advanced in the field. After reading the 126 articles of the Statute, which are like an iron lung inflicted on a healthy person, one is led to the conclusion that a way should be found to get rid of government control of teacher training. If it is desired to preserve the seminary system, then at least the direction and supervision of the institutions should be entrusted to some sort of regional body.

It is true that the recent Seminary Act reflects a desire to raise the basic requirements for admission to the seminaries. It

provides that all the seminaries shall be based on completion of the lower secondary school, but in the same breath it restricts the provision by specifying preparatory training.

The old narrow practice school connected with the seminary has tenaciously kept its place in the new law. The disadvantages of this institution might have been minimized if seminary holidays were made to coincide in part with periods when the elementary schools are open. In that way trainees of at least the two highest grades might get their practice teaching in the realistic setting of the elementary school. Furthermore, seminary teachers might be forced to familiarize themselves with the work of elementary schools and correct their misconceptions in the area of methodology, which characteristically provoke smiles by seminary students with teaching experience.

The training of elementary school teachers also takes place, in accordance with the present legislation, at the level of higher education, both in the so-called provisional teachers colleges (situated in Helsinki and Turku) and at the Jyväskylä Institute of Education and the Teachers College of Oulu University. Unfortunately the obsolete seminary-concept of teacher training has been applied to these institutions; their alleged purpose of free inquiry and scientific learning, together with the highest level of teacher training, can only be achieved if their program is built along the lines of higher education. Such a program has never existed in Finland.

The last piece of legislation concerning the training of secondary school teachers was passed in 1955. It contains three passages signifying changes in principle. The training program was up to then, at least formally, under the supervision of the universities. Through the measure it was transferred to the school authorities, an undesirable arrangement because the nature of teacher training is such that it should proceed along academic lines and under academic direction.

A second change relates to the institutions of training. Whereas originally they had all been situated in Helsinki, two normal schools

were now founded in provincial towns (Jyväskylä and Turku). Still, this did not mean an abandonment of the antiquated normal schools.

A third reform relates to the evaluation of teaching skill. Formerly candidates for teaching positions in state secondary schools were required to furnish teaching demonstrations as proof of their competence. The abolition of this requirement must for many reasons be considered a welcome reform. The critical rating system (with whole numbers) used in practice teaching at the secondary school level is, incidentally, far more objective than the method used in institutions training elementary school teachers, where it was attempted to evaluate something as intangible as teaching skill as precisely as one-tenth of a point (in a ten-point scale).

The training of vocational teachers in Finland runs either along seminary lines, ostensibly on the secondary school level, or according to the secondary school practice teaching system. The term "vocational teacher" refers both to teachers at vocational schools and teachers of special subjects (notably practical subjects) in schools of general education. The training of teachers in the former category is divided among a number of relevant ministries. Certain institutions, to be sure, do not yet require any teacher training, while others demand exclusively what has been determined by their respective ministries: Other training, although it may be equivalent for all practical purposes, is not at all acceptable.

The latest law regulating the training of vocational school teachers was initiated by the Ministry of Trade and Industry and concerns the teaching personnel of institutions for instruction in arts and crafts and industrial skills. The introduction of the normal school system in this area must be noted with regret. The inclusion of the old-fashioned system of demonstration teaching, which has just been abandoned for state secondary school teachers, is likewise regrettable. Nevertheless, as a whole, the law must be considered more humane than the corresponding Seminary Statute, discussed above.

Summary

The majority of the defects in Finland's contemporary school legislation can be traced to errors of principle that have long been frustrating the educational work of the schools.

One of these errors is the antiquated separation of the schools which precludes interchanges and equality among them. The remedy lies in the stratification of schools according to age levels, permitting, for instance, the horizontal contact between general and vocational education which is so sadly lacking at present.

A second error, abetting the first, is excessive government interference in education. Bureaucracy and the imposition of compulsory measures tend to be linked to a rigid separation of educational institutions. Instead of the state serving only as a sponsor and supervisor of education, it takes under its maintenance a steadily increasing number of schools, which only serves to stifle freedom, initiative, and versatility. The old tradition of state paternalism is still strong. Paradoxically, Finnish educational administration requires *more* centralization in the sense of the integration of the various official jurisdictions and *less* centralization in the sense of the state's absorption of functions that are best left to local bodies.

The third and most serious error is the failure to recognize that teacher training for all levels should be of the standard of higher education, not of seminary training. There is an identity of basic aims of teacher training at all levels, and hence all training institutions should be regulated by a common law and, through a common chancellor, maintain communication with each other. Within this unitary framework the training of teachers for the elementary grades (ages seven to eleven) would be of a general nature; for the secondary level (ages eleven to fifteen) it would aim at producing teachers with a general background but with an added specialization; for the higher secondary and postsecondary levels it would prepare teachers with specializations alone.

Even though the defects of the Finnish

educational system have been known for some time to the educational research workers in the country, little effort to correct them can be detected in the latest legislation. No impetus for reform has come from school administrators, teachers, laymen, or political parties. Administrators are generally uninformed about foreign educational developments; the country they have traditionally looked to as an educational model, Germany, is itself conservative in school organization. Teachers are accustomed to think only in terms of their own school type.

Their limited professional education is also segregated and does not involve them in common professional concerns. Laymen have no interest in school problems, other than the problem of their own children's admission to secondary school. Whether

the secondary curriculum is suitable for all children or relevant to the economic and cultural life of the times does not concern them. Finally, political parties have pursued partisan and merely expedient educational policies. Each of the many political parties vigorously supports a certain school type, or else simply resists the preferences of opposing parties. No political party has considered the reorganization of the school system to be an issue of national importance. Subventions, child subsidies, and pensions are more effective bait at election time.

Recent educational legislation has been a series of disconnected measures, although clearly the goal should be broadly conceived laws which would keep the situation as a whole in view and allow for flexible adjustment to meet future demands.

Practically all modern nations are now awake to the fact that education is the most potent means in the development of the essentials of nationality. Education is the means by which peoples of retarded cultures may be brought rapidly to the common level. Education is the means by which small or weak nations may become so strong through their cultural strength and achievements that their place in the political world may be made secure. Education is the means by which nations, strong in the strength of the past, may go through the perilous transition to the modern world, as has Japan and will Russia. Education is the only means by which the world can be "made safe" for the national type of organization.—PAUL MONROE, Essays in Comparative Education, Vol. 2 (1927), page 4.

LAND TENURE AND PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES

QUIRICO S. SAMONTE

This article examines how land tenure is related to size of enrollment in the public elementary and secondary schools of the Philippines as of the school year 1939-1940. Illustrative examples of the questions analyzed are: How do variations in the proportion of land cultivated by landowners or by tenants correlate with the proportion of the population enrolled in the public schools? If there is any correlation, what reasons account for such a relationship? Would such an association vary from one school level to another? What are the implications of different forms of land tenure for the successful implementation of universal education in an agricultural setting? As a hypothesis for the present study, it is proposed that the higher the proportion of people who own the land which they cultivate, the greater the proportion of the population that can go to school. Conversely, the higher the rate of tenancy, the lower the proportion of the population that can go to school.

Implicit in the questions raised above is the view that a school system is a part of and conditioned by the character of its setting which consists of interacting forces subsumed under the broad categories of population, culture, and natural environment. Viewing the school as a part of its setting assumes (a) that society is an integrated entity "resulting from the interdependence of functionally differentiated and more or less specialized parts"¹ (individuals, institutions, patterns of interaction), and (b) that the school, as a rule, is charged with the "manifest function"² of helping prepare individuals for common as well as specialized roles in order to maintain society as a going concern.

That the school system tends to be conditioned by the character of the society in which it is situated follows from the view

expressed in the preceding paragraph. Studies which show how certain subjects are emphasized because national policy requires it;³ how men of power in a community may influence the policy-making organ of the school in that community;⁴ or how teachers tend to come from a particular socioeconomic class, thereby enforcing the values which they represent,⁵ yield evidences of some ways by which educational institutions may be influenced by the culture setting.

Assuming then that educational institutions are vulnerable to the influence of the socioeconomic setting, this inquiry into the relationship of some aspects of the economic organization and school enrollment is in order. It is to be emphasized, however, that the choice of economic factor as a situational variable should not be construed to mean that a deterministic point of view is being advocated. Although economic as well as noneconomic factors are regarded in this study as important sources of influence, it is necessary to limit the scope of the analysis within reasonable and manageable proportions.

As an empirical inquiry into the relationship of selected variables, correlation analysis is utilized. The application of statistical techniques is conditioned, however, by the view that "statistical methods have finished their part of the task when they have provided a statistical description of association, and statistics proper cannot be held responsible for the further use of the data it supplies for the larger problem of relationship."⁶ Thus, a coefficient of correlation, for example, is regarded here not as a direct measure of the existence or absence of "causal relationship" between factors, but only as an analytical abstraction devised to facilitate the organization and manipulation of empirical data. The problem of cause is treated

here as a matter of inference from a statistical description as well as from relevant non-statistical evidences available.

Although the object of analysis is the relationship of land tenure and school enrollment for the country as a whole, the units of analysis are the forty-nine provinces of the Philippines.⁷ Data on tenancy, landownership, enrollment, and other related information were collected for each province, producing, in effect, forty-nine "cases" for analysis.

The source of data on enrollment is the *Forty-First Annual Report of the Director of Education* for the period covering July 1, 1939, to June 30, 1940.⁸ The report contains a variety of information dealing with the operation of the schools on the provincial level. Since the educational system is nationally centralized with the provincial units as subdivisions, the categories of information reported are standardized for each of the provinces.

The data on tenancy, landownership, and other related information have been obtained from the Philippine census of 1939. This particular census was chosen because it is considered more reliable than the 1948 census—the latest available enumeration. Amos H. Hawley, a sociologist and demographer, observes:

The 1939 census . . . is generally regarded as the most complete and otherwise accurate census taken in the Philippines. In no other census were peace and order as favorable for census taking. Furthermore, the January date of the 1939 census avoided the typhoon season when travel and communication are most difficult. By contrast, the 1948 census was taken in a period of great internal chaos and in the last month [October] of the wet season.⁹

Also, as a study of a relatively early period, it would serve as a baseline for projective studies dealing with changes in the agricultural sector of Philippine economy and their impact on enrollment. And it serves to illustrate an approach which, to the knowledge of this writer, is relatively new to comparative education. In this connection, it is hoped that its methodology (although now common in sociology) be subjected to

criticism in terms of its potential for further use in comparative education.

The choice of land tenure as a situational factor is based on the fact that the Philippines is basically agricultural. The agrarian character of the economy is evidenced by the fact that about 70 per cent of the labor force, as reported in the 1939 census, were engaged in agriculture. Within agriculture are the following types of farm operators and the proportion of their share of the total land area under cultivation: (1) owners, 55 per cent of the area under cultivation; (2) tenants, 25 per cent; (3) part-owners, 12 per cent; and (4) farm-managers, 8 per cent. The terms used here for the different forms of farm operators are defined as:

Owners are farm operators who own all the land which they work on. A farmer who works on land owned by a member of the family was classified as owner.

Part-owners are farm operators who own part of the land and rent or lease from others the remaining portion of the land they work on.

Farm managers are farm operators who supervise the working of the farm, receiving wages, salaries, or part of the crops for their services. Farms having an area of less than ten hectares were not classified as a managed farm unless it was operated by an institution, corporation, or agency of government.

Tenants are farm operators who rent or lease from others the land on which they work.¹⁰

The somewhat marginal character of the terms part-owner and farm manager should be noted. The data on part-owners, for instance, do not show what proportion of the farm is under landownership or tenancy. For this reason, only those farms operated by owners and tenants are dealt with in the analysis. Furthermore, owners and tenants operated about 80 per cent of the total area of the farms under cultivation in 1939. Thus, to enhance the comparability of land tenure between provinces, this situational factor was analyzed as the percentage ratio of the area cultivated by owners to the area cultivated by tenants. With this ratio, the higher the "actual quotient," the higher the proportion of land cultivated by owners relative

to that cultivated by tenant-operators in a given province.¹¹

Enrollment figures are based on the number of children reported enrolled in the public elementary and secondary schools at the end of the school year 1939-1940. The numbers reported were converted into percentages of the enumerated population six to nineteen years of age. In this connection, it should be mentioned that in 1939 the school system consisted of seven and four academic years for the elementary and secondary schools, respectively, and the legal starting age was seven. Thus, the six-to-nineteen age group from which the percentages were computed may be regarded as a reasonable approximation of the size of the population within what is normally considered the school age bracket.

The data examined consisted basically of the percentage ratio of land area cultivated by owners to that cultivated by tenants, and the percentage of the population six to nineteen years of age enrolled in the public schools of each of the forty-nine provinces.

Correlation coefficients of the percentage ratio of owners to tenants by farm area with enrollment are:¹²

| | |
|--|-------|
| Per cent enrolled in the public elementary and secondary schools | .341* |
| Per cent enrolled in the public elementary schools | .332* |
| Per cent enrolled in the public secondary schools | .425* |

* Significant at the 0.5 level.

A preliminary examination of the preceding correlations suggests, among other things, that the higher the proportion of landownership, the higher the percentage of the population enrolled in the schools, and the positive association of landownership with enrollment increases in strength from elementary to secondary school level. These findings are consistent with the hypothesis of the study, but it would be well to examine the correlations more critically before making inferences. It should be borne in mind, for instance, that there are differences between the provinces other than land tenure which might conceivably influence also

the strength and/or direction of the correlations. Hence, on the basis of available and accessible data, allowance is given to variations between provinces with respect to the productivity of the land under cultivation, the proportion of the population enrolled in private elementary and secondary schools, and the availability of public schools.

Differences in agricultural productivity is a relevant consideration. Even if two provinces have the same acreage of land under cultivation, the same type of land tenure, but differ in the value of the crops produced, it is reasonable to assume that the more productive (hence, more wealthy) province would be in a better position to demand or make use of the schools provided by the government. Enrollment in private schools should be included because it is likely that the higher the proportion of the population enrolled in these schools, the less reliable public school enrollment would be as an indicator of the impact of situational conditions. As to availability of schools, even if demand for education were substantially the same for all the provinces, the resulting enrollment would obviously be limited by the facilities that the government can provide in each province. Accordingly, in order to enhance the comparability of the units of analysis (the provinces), data have been obtained on (1) gross peso value of annual agricultural production per capita (used as a measure of agricultural productivity), (2) percentage of the population six to nineteen years of age enrolled in private elementary and secondary schools, and (3) the number of public schools per 1000 of the population six to nineteen years of age (used as a measure of the availability of public schools). The following table contains coefficient of partial correlation of land tenure with enrollment, controlling for differences between provinces in productivity, private school enrollment, and availability of public schools.

From a more sociological standpoint, it would be well to examine the relationship of availability of public schools with enrollment and with landownership.

Correlation coefficients of the number of public schools per 1000 of the population

COEFFICIENTS OF PARTIAL CORRELATION OF PERCENTAGE RATIO OF AREA OF FARMS OPERATED BY OWNERS TO THAT OPERATED BY TENANTS WITH PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION ENROLLED IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1939

| Variables controlled | Partial r 's of land tenure with per cent enrolled in public elementary schools | Partial r 's of land tenure with per cent enrolled in public secondary schools | Partial r 's of land tenure with per cent enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools |
|--|---|--|---|
| Gross peso value of annual agricultural production per capita | .398* | .513* | .341* |
| Per cent of population 6-19 years of age enrolled in private schools, by school level | .327* | .521* | .385* |
| Number of public schools per 1000 of the population 6-19 years of age, by school level | -.047 (N.S.)† | -.018 (N.S.)† | -.048 (N.S.)† |

* Statistically significant at the .05 level.

† Not significant.

six to nineteen years of age with enrollment in the public schools are:

| | |
|--|-------|
| Per cent enrolled in the public elementary and secondary schools | .621* |
| Per cent enrolled in the public elementary schools | .619* |
| Per cent enrolled in the public secondary schools | .631* |

* Significant at the .05 level.

The preceding relationship of availability of schools and enrollment is suggestive of the importance of the role of the government in helping realize the goals of universal education in the Philippines. Such an interpretation does not necessarily nullify the relevance and importance of land ownership as a conditioning factor of size of school enrollment. On the basis of the positive association of landownership and availability of public schools, there is reason to believe that type of land tenure may have something to do with availability of school facilities, if not in directly providing them, at least in promoting a greater demand for more public schools.

Correlation coefficients of the percentage ratio of ownership to tenancy by area of farms with availability of public schools are:

| | |
|--|-------|
| Number of public elementary and secondary schools per 1000 of the population 6-19 years of age | .588* |
| Number of public elementary schools per 1000 of the population 6-19 years of age | .577* |
| Number of public secondary schools per 1000 of the population 6-19 years of age | .698* |

* Significant at the .05 level.

Since the measures of association used in this study show a direct relationship between landownership and the proportion of the population enrolled in the public schools, it would be well to examine now some differences between tenure by ownership and tenure by tenancy. Are there features to be found in tenure by ownership which enable more people to enroll in the public schools? By contrast, are there features to be found in tenure by tenancy which tend to militate against school enrollment?

Owners were defined earlier as farm operators who own the land they work on, including those who work on land owned by their respective families. By comparison, tenants were defined as operators who rent or lease from others the land on which they work. Implicit in these definitions are some of the essential differences between ownership and tenancy. For the owners, it implies, among other things, sharing within the family most of what is produced from the land. Thus, the following observation is made about the income of the farmer who owns the land on which he works: "The income of the average peasant proprietor is generally enough to provide a fairly decent standard of living for his family. He is relatively free from debt after the harvest, and he can send his children to school."¹³ From a study of the social and economic conditions of a farm village, the following quotation is pertinent:

The family income of the owner was ₱137.46; part-owner, ₱189.89; and the tenant, ₱161.89. These amounts did not include the interest on capital, which was charged as expenses. The interest earned by farm capital averaged ₱110.35 for owner, ₱64.15 for part-owner, and ₱12.22 for tenants, or an average of ₱55.19 per farm. When these amounts were added to the family income, the amount available for family living averaged ₱226.79. The owner had ₱247.81; the part-owner, ₱254.04; the tenant, ₱174.11.¹⁴

Evidently, a condition which requires sharing a substantial amount of the produce with people other than members of the operator's family implies for the tenant a relatively lower amount of income than that of the owner-operator. For some circumstantial evidences of the economic plight of the tenant, it is significant to note that usurious practices have thrived rather well in areas where the rate of tenancy is relatively high (Bulacan, Pampanga), and that eruptions of the so-called agrarian unrest have usually taken place in provinces where the proportion of tenancy is also high (the "Huk" movement in Pampanga).

Commenting on the practice of usury in the rural areas of the Philippines, J. E. Spencer writes:

Far too many tenant farmers never can hope to be anything else under the present pattern of land and credit controls. There is no effective protection from the unscrupulous landlord for the illiterate tenant, or even for the literate tenant already deep in debt to his landlord. There are too many ways to manipulate cost when making advances, using payment in kind computed in money terms, when the tenant cannot read the agreements he is forced to sign, or when the tenant is forced to purchase his supplies from a store operated by the landlord.¹⁵

In a report to the President of the United States by an economic survey mission to the Philippines in 1950, the plight of the tenant is also noted:

The strained relationship between the landlords and their tenants and the low economic condition generally of the tillers of the soil compose one of the main factors retarding the recovery of agricultural production. While some laws have been passed to 'relieve the tenants' plight they have not worked out as expected. The land problem remains the same or worse than four years ago and the dissident trouble has spread to wider areas. Furthermore, there is a great inertia on the part of the government to give really serious consideration to agriculture's many besetting handicaps and long-standing maladjustments.

The Philippine farmer is between two grindstones. On top is the landlord, who often exacts an unjust share in spite of ineffective legal restrictions to the contrary. Beneath is the deplorably low production of the land he works. The farmer cannot see any avenue of escape. He has no credit except at usurers' rates. There is no counsel to whom he can turn with confidence. He is resistant to change for fear of losing the meager livelihood he and his family possess. The incentive to greater production dies aborning when what he regards as an unjust share of the harvest of his work goes to the landlord.¹⁶

Drawing on the evidence assembled in this study, it seems fair to infer that owner-operators are better off economically than tenant-operators. Such an interpretation implies, among other things, greater disability on the part of tenants to save in terms of time and wealth and, subsequently, to invest in such an enterprise as sending their children to school. To the tenants, it appears

that the exigencies of survival are relatively a more consuming concern, demanding of the adults as well as of the children more time and energy to be expended in activities which are calculated as more immediate sources of supplementary income, hence, an inverse relationship between tenancy and school enrollment.

The findings suggest anew the old question of how economic factors may be related to political organization. Is the problem of tenancy relevant to the task of developing a healthy and vigorous representative government in the Philippines? In responding to this question within the framework of the present article, it is reasonable to consider the role of the schools in educating the people for a more intelligent and active participation in public affairs, and the inverse relationship of tenancy and the ability of many people to send their children to school. It might be well to pay more attention to the abuses of tenancy, to find ways of minimizing and, ultimately, eradicating them in order to enhance the development of a more enlightened citizenry and a more vigorous democracy in the Philippines.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Robert C. Angell, and others, *Principles of Sociology* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The Overbeck Company, 1949), p. 111.
- ² Robert K. Merton, a sociologist, defines "manifest function" as "those objective consequences contributing to the adjustment or adaptation of the system which are intended and recognized by the participants in the system." He differentiates what he calls "latent functions" which he defines as "those which are neither intended nor recognized." For a more thorough discussion of these concepts, see Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949), pp. 49-61.
- ³ Alexander G. Korol, *Soviet Education for Science and Technology* (Cambridge: Tech-

nology Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1957). *Soviet Education Programs* (U. S. Office of Education, 1960).

⁴ Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953). George S. Counts, *The Social Composition of Boards of Education: A Study of the Social Control of Public Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1929).

⁵ Lloyd W. Warner and others, *Who Shall Be Educated?* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944).

⁶ Margaret J. Hagood and Daniel O. Price, *Statistics for Sociologists* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), pp. 343-355.

⁷ The number of provinces in the Philippines has, since the 1939 census was taken, increased to fifty-three with the subdivision of some of the original forty-nine.

⁸ *Forty-First Annual Report of the Director of Education, July 1, 1939, to June 30, 1940* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1941).

⁹ Amos H. Hawley, *Papers in Demography and Public Administration*, Revised (Manila: Institute of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1954), p. 12.

¹⁰ From a summary report of the Bureau of Census and Statistics, Philippines.

¹¹ The data on land tenure, enrollment, and the other variables for each of the provinces are available in the author's *Situational Analysis of Public School Enrollment in the Philippines* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the University of Michigan in 1960).

¹² The correlations have been computed on the basis of forty-nine "cases"—the total number of provinces in the Philippines in 1939.

¹³ Andres V. Castillo, *Philippine Economics* (Manila, 1949), p. 176.

¹⁴ Francisco M. Sacay and Martin V. Jarmin, *A Study of Economic and Social Conditions in a Farm Village in Laguna*. (Cited in *Philippine Land Tenure Reform*, Report of the Special Technical and Economic Mission, Mutual Security Agency, U.S.A., 1952.)

¹⁵ S. E. Spencer, *Land and People in the Philippines: Geographic Problems in Rural Economy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952), p. 136.

¹⁶ *Economic Survey Mission to the Philippines*, Report to the President of the United States (Washington, D. C., 1950), p. 55.

STUDY ABROAD: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

LISELOTTE SCHMIDT

It is generally accepted without question that study abroad is "a good thing," that the exchange of students promotes international understanding, and that if people know each other better, they would like each other better. Nevertheless, only in the past decade have scholars begun to look for evidence to support such convictions. In recent years large-scale programs of research and evaluation have been launched which

promise to throw considerable light on the exchange process and its effects.

The present annotated bibliography represents an endeavor on the part of the compiler to list selected books, pamphlets, and articles relating to the exchange process and its effects. This compilation is intended to be suggestive and to serve as a handy reference source for those in search of information on the exchange process.

ADAMS, WALTER, and JOHN A. GARRATY. *Is the World Our Campus?* East Lansing, Michigan, Michigan State University, 1960. Part of series on the overseas programs of American universities, Institute of Research on Overseas Programs, Michigan State University.

Sequel to the authors' *From Main Street to the Left Bank* (1959). The authors report the facts on overseas programs and find that not all foreign assistance is worthy of the nation's private or public purse, that many foreign institutions do not deserve help, that not all American universities are responsible purveyors of technical assistance, that many professors engaged in overseas projects are far from ideal ambassadors, and that the university contract system is not necessarily an effective way to help "underdeveloped" countries. The strengths and weaknesses of various programs are discussed.

ALESSI, JEANNIE L. "Our Inter-American Student Exchange Program." *School Activities*, XXXI (1960), 274.

Describes an exchange program of the Irondequoit Senior High School (Rochester, New York), involving direct family to family exchange. The American family receives into their home the same Mexican or Colombian student who is host to their child on his visit to the other's country, each child living with the foreign family about two months or the length of his school vacation.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES FOR TEACHER EDUCATION, Committee on Inter-

national Relations. C. O. ARNDT, compiler; LAWRENCE H. CONRAD, editor. *Programs and Projects for International Understanding*. Oneonta, New York, The Association, 1956.

This report is divided into three sections: The first describes general programs on world affairs being carried on in some U.S. teacher training institutions; the second is concerned with specific programs and practices; and the third is a 31-page compilation of resource organizations and agencies where specific information may be obtained about particular countries, teacher exchange programs, and other aspects of international relations.

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION. *Education Without Boundaries*. Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1959. Addresses and summary of proceedings of the Fourth Annual Conference on University Contracts Abroad, Washington, D.C., November 13-14, 1958.

The six addresses are concerned with the contribution made by American universities to the developing international community of learning, toward the end that this contribution might be augmented and enhanced. The principal addresses are the one by Leonard J. Saccio, deputy director of the International Cooperation Administration, on "The Educational Challenge in Underdeveloped Areas," and the one by Dean Rusk, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, entitled "Observations on the Foreign Relations of American Universities."

———. "The Council at Work: Interna-

tional Educational Activities of American Universities and Colleges." *The Educational Record*, XXXVIII (1957), 382-408.

Report of the Commission on Education and International Affairs and the Committee on Institutional Projects Abroad of the American Council on Education concerning the international educational activities of American colleges and universities. The report presents the results of a survey conducted by the Commission and the Committee to determine: (1) the views of American educators on the policies which should govern their work in this field, and (2) the extent of present participation of American institutions in international education, as well as their willingness and ability to do more. The results are presented in interpretative summary and also in detailed analyses. They emphasize the importance of greater private leadership in the field of international education.

ARCA, FRANCESCO. "The Italian Fulbright Association." *News Bulletin of the Institute of International Education*, XXXIV, No. 8 (April 1959), 49-51.

The article discusses the organization, objectives, activities, and publications of the Italian Fulbright Association. The writer is president of the Fulbright Association of Rome and editor of the Association's bulletin.

ATLANTIC TREATY ASSOCIATION. *The Role of the School in the Atlantic Community: Study Conference, Paris, September 5-7, 1956*. New York, The Association, American Council on NATO, Inc., 1956.

This report of an international study conference held at NATO headquarters includes recommendations for promoting appreciation among nations of the Atlantic Community through interchange of teachers and students, school linking schemes, exchange visits, and other programs. It also includes available teaching aids and sources of information.

BENNETT, JOHN W. "Cross-Cultural Education Research and the Study of National Acculturation," *Some Uses of Anthropology: Theoretical and Applied*. JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE and THOMAS GLADWIN, editors. Washington, D.C., Anthropological Society of Washington, 1956. Pp. 1-22.

Classifies several types of overseas scholars and their status-personality characteristics, and

discusses their effectiveness as innovators in their home society.

BODENMAN, PAUL S. *American Cooperation with Higher Education Abroad: A Survey of Current Programs*. United States Office of Education, Bulletin 1957, No. 8. Washington, D.C., 1957.

Contains information on government and private involvement in the international exchange of persons field. Divided into three parts: (1) Non-governmental Programs, (2) Governmental Programs, and (3) Participating Colleges and Universities.

BRICKMAN, WILLIAM W., editor. *Comparative Education in Theory and Practice: A Symposium*. Reprint from *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, XXX (1956), 113-160. New York, Payne Educational Sociology Foundation, Inc., 1956.

This report of the proceedings of the Third Annual Conference on Comparative Education, New York University, April 27, 1956, contains a general summary and five papers presented on the theoretical foundations of comparative education, by the editors; and on its practical application in the work of the United Nations and UNESCO, by Dorothy G. Collins; in international educational exchange and technical assistance programs, by Lily von Klemperer of the Institute of International Education, and Kenneth C. Ray of the International Cooperation Administration; and, as evidenced statistically in American Ph.D. dissertations, by W. C. Eells.

BURDETTE, FRANKLIN. "U.S. Information Agency and Advanced Learning Abroad." *Higher Education*, XIII (1956), 45-48.

This professor of government and politics discusses the function of the U.S. Cultural Affairs Officer abroad "in the two-way intellectual traffic" between the United States and the post to which he is appointed.

CATER, DOUGLASS. *World Progress through Educational Exchange: The Story of a Conference*. New York, Institute of International Education, 1959.

This is a report on the Third National Conference on Exchange of Persons (January 28-31, 1959, Washington, D.C.) which was sponsored by the Institute of International Education in cooperation with 139 participating and observer nations. Among the topics discussed are: (1) The Need for Developing Tra-

dition, (2) Exploring the Sense of Community, (3) The Role of Government, (4) East-West Exchange—Hopes and Expectations, (5) The Improvement of Aims and Techniques, and (6) International Exchange and the National Interest. The program of the conference and a list of the participating organizations are included in the appendix.

CHURCHILL, RUTH. "The Student Abroad." *The Antioch Review*, XVIII (1958), 447-453.

This article describes a study involving twenty-four students who had just returned from Antioch College's foreign study program in Europe in an effort to determine what impact, if any, the experience had had upon them, and why. The article reveals: (1) that the changing concepts of the students concerning politeness were an excellent index of the substantial amount of cross-cultural learning that occurred, (2) that these students learned in Europe what it is to be an American, and (3) that they wanted to talk about Europe, about what they had done, the people they had met, and what they thought and felt.

CLEVELAND, HARLAN, and GERARD J. MANGONE, editors. *The Art of Overseasmanship*. Syracuse, New York, Syracuse University Press, 1957.

This volume examines the problem of United States representation abroad. It contains eleven carefully edited, selected articles by experts in overseas work and foreign relations. The work is divided into three parts: (1) "The New Dimensions of Diplomacy" studies the size and shape of American overseas establishments. (2) "The Elements of Success" probes into the characteristics of the elusive "Factor X," that quality of combination of talent and training which achieves success in work overseas. (3) "The Challenge to American Education" suggests the kinds of training that would be most useful to the new-style "dungaree and grey-flannel" diplomats who now represent American private and public enterprise abroad.

CLEVELAND, HARLAN, GERARD J. MANGONE, and JOHN CLARKE ADAMS. *The Overseas Americans*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960.

This is a first-hand exploration of the elements needed for successful performance in overseas assignments, as well as an imaginative program of action for the recruitment, selection, and training of personnel who today are

carrying important responsibilities for United States foreign policy. The study examines the problems and needs of government personnel, missionaries, businessmen, and their wives and children—U.S. citizens living and working abroad. The book describes the range of overseas assignments now handled by Americans abroad, and the shortcomings of their policies and performance.

CONFERENCE BOARD OF ASSOCIATED RESEARCH COUNCILS. Committee on International Exchange of Persons. *U.S. Government Grants under the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt Acts: University Lecturing, Advanced Research*. Washington, D.C., The Board, 1957.

This pamphlet describes the awards for American scholars under the Fulbright Act and briefly those for American lecturers under the Smith-Mundt Act. It discusses the administration and general character of the Fulbright program, eligibility requirements, terms of the awards, selection of grantees, and application procedures. A short section deals with grants to foreign scholars.

COTNER, THOMAS E., JOHN W. GRISSOM, and FRANK A. KNAPP. *A Partial Bibliography of Materials Related to International Education*. Washington, D.C., United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, 1954.

This bibliographical listing is composed of selected entries, partially annotated, relating in general to the Exchange of Persons Programs and International Education. The bibliography is divided into three parts: (1) References on loans, fellowships, scholarships, and the exchange of persons programs; (2) Materials on counseling, guidance, and program planning for persons working with students, teachers, leaders, and professors from other lands; (3) Reports of coordinators of teacher education programs. The appendix consists of a directory of periodicals, publishers, and publishing associations.

DEAN, VERA MICHELES. *The American Student and the Non-Western World*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1956.

The author stresses the need for increased knowledge and perspective to enable the American student to look at international problems objectively.

DOYLE, HENRY GRATTAN, compiler. *Education and Its Environment in the United States and Overseas: A Tentative Selective Checklist of Books and Articles*. Washington, D.C., International Cooperation Administration, 1959.

A checklist intended to be suggestive rather than exhaustive. Compilation makes no pretense to be either perfect or complete. In two parts: (1) American Education and Its Backgrounds and (2) Education Overseas and Its Backgrounds.

DUBOIS, CORA. *Foreign Students and Higher Education in the United States*. Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1956.

This volume is designed to assist American educators and counselors working with foreign students. Part I discusses trends in study abroad; Part II stresses sociological and psychological factors affecting foreign students; and Part III is devoted to the role of American educational institutions in respect to foreign students. Appendices contain student enrollment and distribution statistics and a section on English language problems of students. Figures and references go through 1954.

EELLS, WALTER CROSBY. *American Dissertations on Foreign Education*. Washington, D.C., Committee on International Relations, National Education Association of the United States, 1959.

Lists doctor's dissertations and master's theses written at American universities and colleges between 1884 and 1958 concerning education or educators in foreign countries and education of groups of foreign birth or ancestry in the United States.

FAIRCHILD, MILDRED L., and KENNETH D. WANN. "The Educational Consultant in Another Culture." *Teachers College Record*, LVII (1956), 438-448.

These consultants to the Royal Afghan Ministry of Education in 1954-1955, under International Cooperation Administration sponsorship, discuss the importance of attitude and planning for such an assignment. The consultant should avoid the feeling of going to "underprivileged" people and should help build an educational program that will contribute toward advancing local culture rather than attempt to transplant American education.

FLACK, MICHAEL L. *Sources of Information*

on *International Educational Activities*. Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1958.

An exploratory survey prepared for the Commission on Education and International Affairs of the American Council on Education. Contains information for U.S. students, for foreign students, for U.S. and foreign faculties, and for U.S. institutions on U.S. government and private involvement in the international exchange of persons field. Includes exhibits of sources of information.

FORD FOUNDATION. *Annual Report: October 1, 1955 to September 30, 1956*. New York, Ford Foundation, 1956.

The chapter entitled "International Understanding," pages 87-107, explains what the Foundation is doing in this area, where it is operating or plans to operate, and how. "Overseas Development," the chapter on pages 109-127, gives an account of its program in the Near East, including activity in the field of education.

FOSTER, J. F., editor. *Commonwealth Universities Yearbook 1960*. 37th edition. London, The Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, 1960.

This is "a directory to the universities of the British Commonwealth and the handbook of their Association." It lists university institutions of good standing in Australia, Canada, Ceylon, Hong Kong, India, Malaya and Singapore, Malta, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, South Africa, Uganda, the United Kingdom, and the West Indies.

GARRATY, JOHN A., and WALTER ADAMS. *From Main Street to the Left Bank: Students and Scholars Abroad*. East Lansing, Michigan, Michigan State University Press, 1959.

Primarily a survey of the activities of American students and professors in Western Europe (excluding Great Britain), this book serves also as a comparative study of American and European systems of higher education. The authors (Garraty is Professor of History at Columbia, Adams a Professor of Economics at Michigan State) spent nine months in Europe on a Carnegie Grant interviewing students, teachers, and administrators, visiting universities, and getting other first-hand information on the impact of Europe on American students and the impact of U.S. students on Europe. The

survey emphasizes the organized programs that many colleges have developed for European study as an integral part of their curriculum, but does not neglect the independent student who seeks out on his own or with government aid the advantages of the foreign experience. The over-all result is a graphic highlighting of the strengths and weaknesses of both systems of education.

GRAHAM, GRACE, and BLANCHE DEPUY. "Preparing for International Friendships." *Social Education*, XXI (1957), 261, 262, 264.

This article reveals that the school's responsibility to educate youth for international understanding is of supreme importance today. How well we are teaching for better human relationships must be measured, in some degree, by how successfully our students relate to foreigners in the college microcosm. The writers maintain that liking is an individual matter which cannot be compelled. "Nevertheless, the stereotype of the group must break down and the individual members take on particular identities before any friendship worthy of the name can spring into being."

GROVES, GRATIA B. "Participation of the United States in International Art Education." *Education*, LXXVII (1956), 131-136.

The author indicates that participation in international art undertakings provides an understanding of other peoples and cultures and contributes to the free world and to the strengthening of the values on which it rests.

GULLAHORN, JOHN T., and JEANNE E. GULLAHORN. "American Fulbrighters Back Home." *News Bulletin of the Institute of International Education*, XXXIV, No. 8 (April 1959), 13-19.

In this article the authors discuss a research project they undertook in 1957 concerning Americans who have participated in educational exchange activities abroad under sponsorship of the Department of State. Their survey is focused on 895 Fulbright award holders from nine Midwestern states. They describe the impact of the grantees' overseas experience on their professional roles and on their role as international communicators, both abroad and in the United States. John T. Gullahorn is Assistant Professor of Sociology and Anthropology and Jeanne E. Gullahorn is a

Graduate Fellow in Psychology at Michigan State University. They are currently conducting a study of Fulbright and Smith-Mundt grantees from the remaining 42 states who held awards between 1947 and 1957.

HEATH, KATHRYN G., compiler. *Bibliography: 1956 Publications in Comparative and International Education*. Washington, D.C., United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Division of International Education, 1957.

This annotated bibliography of 1956 publications has been prepared as an aid to American professors and leaders in comparative and international education in the United States or stationed abroad. It aims to help meet the demand for current bibliographical materials. Included are selected references found useful to the staff of the International Educational Relations Branch of the Office of Education. It is selective and limited to publications issued in the calendar year 1956. With few exceptions, only editions in English are included. It consists of two parts: (1) General Publications—Bibliographies, International Understanding, Other; (2) Publications by Areas—Africa and the Near East, Asia and the Far East, Europe and specified British Commonwealth Countries, and Latin America.

INSTITUT FÜR AUSLANDSBEZIEHUNGEN. *Transatlantischer Austausch: Ein Führer durch die am Kulturaustausch zwischen Deutschland und den Vereinigten Staaten beteiligten Organisationen*. Munich, Max Hueber Verlag, 1958.

This booklet outlines the spheres of interest and the functions of 155 organizations on both sides of the Atlantic which are engaged in various phases of cultural exchange between the United States and Germany. The information on these organizations—68 in the United States, 78 in Germany, and 9 in continental Europe—is given in essay form, ranging from a few lines to several pages. In addition, 600 organizations are identified by name and address.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION. *Academic Exchanges with the Soviet Union*. New York, Committee on Educational Interchange Policy, The Institute, 1958.

This pamphlet describes in some detail the agreement made in January 1958 between the United States and the USSR on exchanges in

the cultural, technical, and educational fields. The sections on "Graduates versus Undergraduates" and "Some Problems" are noteworthy. The text of the agreement is given in the appendix.

———. *38th Annual Report*. New York, The Institute, 1958.

This is a report by the Director of the Institute concerning the activities of the Institute during 1957. It includes a listing, by departments, of scholarships, fellowships, travel grants, and other forms of financial assistance for exchange students and specialists during the 1957-1958 academic year. Included also are a list of cooperating committees, a list of IIE related institutions, and program statistics.

———. *Arts and Exchange of Persons*. New York, Committee on Educational Interchange Policy, The Institute, 1957.

A report on the 1957 Conference on The Arts and Exchange of Persons sponsored by the Institute of International Education.

———. "A Survey of Fulbright Alumni Groups." *News Bulletin of the Institute of International Education*, XXXIV, No. 8 (April 1959), 35-42.

This report is a survey of the activities of Fulbright alumni groups in Austria, Belgium, Luxembourg, Japan, Pakistan, Burma, the Netherlands, Finland, Ceylon, Denmark, the Philippines, Thailand, India, Greece, and the Federal Republic of Germany.

———. *College and University Programs of Academic Exchange: Suggestions for the Study of Exchanges of Students, Faculty, and Short-Term Visitors*. New York, Committee on Educational Interchange Policy, The Institute, 1960.

This pamphlet was prepared by the Institute to assist colleges and universities in analyzing their international educational exchange activities. Separate sections deal with major issues involved in student, faculty, and short-term exchanges. A list of questions concludes each section. A selected list of books, articles, and reference works which clarify the basic processes of exchange is included at the end of the pamphlet.

———. *Directory of International Scholarships in the Arts*. New York, The Institute, 1958.

This directory was prepared in response to

the recommendations of the participants of the 1956 Conference on The Arts and Exchange of Persons, sponsored by the Institute of International Education. It is a compilation of existing awards in the arts, including architecture, creative writing, dance, design, music, painting and sculpture, and theater arts. The compilation is on a world-wide basis.

———. *Education for International Responsibilities*. New York, Committee on Educational Interchange Policy, The Institute, 1957.

A full report on the Second National Conference on Exchange of Persons, including summaries of the plenary sessions and workshops.

———. *Fellowships Offered by Foreign Governments, Universities, and Private Donors, 1960-1961*. New York, The Institute, 1959.

A description of the three types of foreign study programs administered by the Institute of International Education for U.S. students: U.S. government grants under the Fulbright Act; U.S. government grants under the Inter-American Cultural Convention and under the Smith-Mundt Act; and foreign government and university awards. Includes information on general eligibility requirements, application procedures, sources of funds to supplement private awards, and notification of nomination.

———. *The Foreign Student: Exchangee or Immigrant?* New York, Committee on Educational Interchange Policy, The Institute, 1958.

A discussion of the foreign student who takes up permanent residence in the United States.

———. *Foreign Study Grants: 1958-59*. New York, Committee on Educational Interchange Policy, The Institute, 1957.

A description of foreign scholarship opportunities other than U.S. government grants.

———. *The Goals of Student Exchange*. New York, Committee on Educational Interchange Policy, The Institute, 1955.

An analysis of the goals of programs for foreign students.

———. *Group Study Abroad*. New York, The Institute, 1958.

This booklet is designed to assist undergraduate and graduate students who wish to study abroad under an organized program. It

describes junior-year programs in Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Mexico, Spain, and Switzerland; graduate study programs in Denmark, France, Israel, Italy, Mexico, Spain, and Sweden; as well as a number of other programs.

———. *Handbook on International Study: A Guide for Foreign Students on Study in the United States and for U.S. Students on Study Abroad*. 2nd edition. New York, The Institute, 1958.

Contains information on education here and abroad, international study awards, laws and regulations affecting exchanges, organizations providing services to exchangees, and published materials in the field of international education.

———. *Open Doors: 1955-56*. New York, The Institute, 1956.

Five statistical surveys are brought together in this annual report showing the number of foreign students, foreign doctors, and foreign faculty members in this country, as well as the number of U.S. students and faculty members abroad during the academic year 1955-1956. Names of institutions attended, areas of specialization, and countries of origin are given.

———. *Open Doors: 1960*. New York, The Institute, 1960.

This report provides information on foreign students, scholars, and physicians in the United States and on American students and scholars abroad. It also contains data on foreign industrial trainees in the United States. Names of institutions attended, areas of specialization, and countries of origin are given.

———. *The Population Involved in International Education: A Report on the Central Index of Educational Exchangees*. New York, The Institute, 1956.

This pamphlet announces the establishment of the Central Index of Educational Exchangees, a cumulative file providing statistical data about the population involved in international education. It describes the content, uses, assembling, and maintaining of the cumulative file.

———. *Report on the National Conference on Exchange of Persons: Leaders for a Free World*. New York, The Institute, 1955.

This is a summary report on the National Conference on Exchange of Persons held in New York City in February 1955. Summaries of the background papers prepared for each of

the eight workshops of the Conference are given, with reports of the discussions of each group.

———. *Summer Study Abroad 1955*. New York, Committee on Educational Interchange Policy, The Institute, 1955.

This booklet lists educational institutions in twenty-two countries which offer summer programs. It tells where to apply and gives information on credits, living arrangements and costs, transportation, and passports and visas. Scholarship information is also given.

———. *Summer Study Abroad 1957*. New York, Committee on Educational Interchange Policy, The Institute, 1957.

Annual listing of summer study opportunities for Americans at foreign universities.

———. *To Strengthen World Freedom*. Special Publications Series, No. 1. New York, The Institute, 1951.

This, the first in a series of informational reports and publications on international education, is a report, in digest form, of four conferences on the international exchange of persons convened by the Institute of International Education in New York, Chicago, Denver, and San Francisco. The report contains eight digests of addresses and remarks concerning ways and means by which Americans can strengthen world security and freedom through the international exchange of persons.

———. *United States Government Grants for Graduate Study Abroad, 1960-1961*. New York, Committee on Educational Interchange Policy, The Institute, 1959.

This leaflet lists graduate study awards that are available for the 1960-1961 academic year under the Fulbright Act, the Inter-American Cultural Convention, and the Smith-Mundt Act.

———. *What Is IIE?* New York, Committee on Educational Interchange Policy, The Institute, 1957.

Illustrated folder describing the work of the Institute of International Education and its Regional Offices.

INSTITUTE OF RESEARCH ON OVERSEAS PROGRAMS. *The International Programs of American Universities: An Inventory and Analysis*. East Lansing, Michigan, Michigan State University Press, 1958.

Part of a series on the overseas programs of

American universities, Institute of Research on Overseas Programs, Michigan State University. Contains information on government and private involvement in the international exchange of persons field. Is divided into two parts: (1) Analysis and Summary—(a) Participating Universities, (b) Characteristics of the Programs, and (c) Programs listed by States, Countries, or Regions, and Subject Matter Field; (2) Program Descriptions.

JAMBRUN, LUCIEN. "The Association Amicale Universitaire France-Amerique." *News Bulletin of the Institute of International Education*, XXXIV, No. 8 (April 1959), 43-48.

This article is concerned with the *Association Amicale Universitaire France-Amerique*, a dynamic association of some 1600 members who have studied or taught in the United States or who, according to the organization's constitution, "are rendering or have rendered service to cultural relations between the United States and France." The author discusses the activities and projects of the Association, including that of organizing a sister organization in the United States.

KEOHANE, ROBERT E. "Toward Understanding International Realities." *School Review*, LXIV (1956), 337-345.

The author points out the trend toward more and better education around the world and emphasizes the benefits to be derived from an objective study of comparative education. A brief description of certain educational practices in Mexico, Russia, and Sweden is included.

KEYES, H. M. R., editor. *International Handbook of Universities*. Paris, International Association of Universities, 1959.

This handbook is designed as a companion volume to *Commonwealth Universities Yearbook*, edited by J. F. Foster, and *American Universities and Colleges*, edited by M. Irwin. It provides classified information on university institutions in some seventy countries (other than those covered in the Foster and Irwin works), thus forming with the other two works a world-wide series.

LAMBERT, RICHARD D., and MARVIN BRESLER. *Indian Students on an American Campus*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1956.

This report of research made by means of interviews with and study of students from India

(Pakistan and Ceylon) concerns the relation of cultural background to adjustment in the United States. It was sponsored by the Committee on Cross-Cultural Education of the Social Science Research Council in its program to better understand the processes involved in cross-cultural education.

MACCORMAC, KENNETH. "Keeping in Touch with Returned Grantees." *News Bulletin of the Institute of International Education*, XXXIV, No. 8 (April 1959), 30-34.

The author of this article is chief of the Liaison and Special Activities Section of the International Educational Exchange Service, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State. He describes the follow-up program or series of activities, carried out in the United States and at overseas posts, by which grantees of international educational exchange awards are encouraged and assisted to maintain contact with the United States after their return home. He also discusses what is being done to develop and expand college and university relations with foreign alumni.

MENDELSON, HAROLD, and FRANK E. ORNSTEIN. "A Survey of Fulbright Award Recipients: Cross-Cultural Education and Its Impact." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XIX (1955), 401-407.

Report on a survey conducted by the Bureau of Social Science Research of American University under contract to the Department of State of returned Fulbright grantees. The purpose was to find how the exchange's status, activities, and interests were affected by his experience abroad, and in what ways he shared his experience with the American community.

MÉTRAUX, GUY S. *Exchange of Persons: The Evolution of Cross-Cultural Education*. New York, Social Science Research Council, 1952.

Useful introductory survey giving a broad perspective on the field and pointing out multiple motives involved in the history of international student exchanges.

MILLER, RICHARD I. "Education for International Leadership." *School and Society*, LXXXVI (1958), 397-398.

This paper takes the position that education for international understanding, education for cultural empathy, is one part of the process of education for international leadership, which includes education for adaptability, education

for respecting similarities and differences, education for ideological clarity, education for patience, and education for knowledge of the world.

MULLER, MAUD. "Art for World Friendship." *School Arts*, LV (1956), 15-18.

The international chairman for the Art of World Friendship program explains how art exchange contributes to world understanding and friendship.

NOLL, VICTOR H. "International Relations in Education." CHESTER W. HARRIS, editor, *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*. 3rd edition. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1960.

Discusses international relations in education in terms of (1) history, (2) organizations and agencies, and (3) educational research. Provides an excellent bibliography for research purposes.

PAN AMERICAN UNION. *Teaching Opportunities in Latin America for U.S. Citizens*. Information Series, Bulletin 1956, No. 3. Washington, D.C., The Union, 1956.

This leaflet is dedicated to those interested in the field of inter-American relations who wish to enrich their cultural experience and contribute personally to inter-American understanding by teaching in Latin America.

PREWITT, CHARLES W. "Science Education in Burma and the Fulbright Program." *Science Education*, XLIII (1959), 257-263.

The author was Fulbright Program lecturer in Science Education and Audio-Visual Materials at the College of Education, University of Rangoon, Rangoon, Burma, in 1956-1957. He discusses how the United States, through various aid plans, including the Fulbright Program, is helping Burma develop her educational program. He describes how science teachers in the United States have the opportunity through the Fulbright Program to engage in one of the most challenging and rewarding experiences of their lives—teaching science or science education in an underdeveloped country. The purpose of the article is to describe science education in one country participating in the Fulbright Program, namely, Burma, and to suggest certain criteria which one may use to help determine whether or not he desires or is suited to teach science in an underdeveloped country.

RIEGEL, O. W. "Residual Effects of Ex-

change of Persons." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XVII (1953), 319-327.

Important summary of a longer unpublished report available at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton, on an extensive study of Belgian returnees. In general, the findings cast some doubt on the impact of this exchange program as an instrument of national policy.

RIEPE, DALE. "Fulbright in Retrospect." *News Bulletin of the Institute of International Education*, XXXIV, No. 8 (April 1959), 55-58.

The author is head of the Philosophy Department of the University of North Dakota. He has twice been a Fulbrighter—a student in India and a lecturer in Japan. In contrasting his life as a student with that as a lecturer, the author stresses the point that it is possible to explore the country and its people more freely as a student and to establish closer and perhaps more professionally rewarding friendships as a lecturer. He maintains that the Fulbright Program enriches the lives not only of the grantees and their families, but also of thousands of other people throughout the world.

SCANLON, DAVID G. *International Education: A Documentary History*. Classics in Education. New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1960.

This volume, compiled by a Teachers College professor, is a collection of "hitherto inaccessible documents" dealing with international education. It is designed to lend historical perspective to the problem of international education. The volume is divided into five parts: (1) Pioneers of International Education, (2) International Organization, (3) When People Meet, (4) Helping People Help Themselves, and (5) Communication. There are sixteen selections ranging from "A College for Light" by the seventeenth-century Moravian theologian, John Amos Comenius, to "A Bold New Program: Point Four" by Harry S. Truman. The selection, "Cross-Cultural Education through the Ages," by Guy S. Métraux is especially noteworthy. The volume contains "An Introduction to International Education" by Professor Scanlon.

SMITH, BRADFORD. "European Fulbrighters Back Home." *News Bulletin of the Institute of International Education*, XXXIV, No. 8 (April 1959), 4-12.

This article, by the Director of the International Summer School at Bennington, Vermont, is an account of how European Fulbrighters make out when they return home. The study reveals that the grantees have taken home with them not only the methods and knowledge which can be put to everyday use in their work, but an abiding respect for American professional standards of research, teaching, and publication. It reveals that student exchange is the most economical means yet devised for producing real and significant cultural interpenetration.

SMITH, HOWARD P. "Do Intercultural Experiences Affect Attitudes?" *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, LI (1955), 469-477.

Before-and-after study of American student participants in the Experiment in International Living 1950 summer program, and appropriate comparison groups, tending to show limited effects.

———. "The Effects of Intercultural Experiences—A Follow-up Investigation." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, LIV (1957), 266-269.

Follow-up study in 1955 of effects of summer travel in 1950. In general, evidence points to minor long-term effects.

SMITH, M. BREWSTER. "Evaluation of Exchange of Persons." *International Social Science Bulletin*, VII (1955), 387-397.

Discusses problems of evaluating the results of exchange programs, and characterizes research findings that may bear on such evaluation.

STEIBEL, GERALD L. "International Understanding and Understanding the International." *Social Education*, XXIII (1959), 12, 13, 16.

What can education do for international understanding? The author maintains that principally it should come to terms with its limitations as a promoter of peace and begin to develop its capabilities as an analytical vehicle. It should study the facts of international life, replacing its more genial assumptions about good will with a sterner assumption that there are whole areas of crisis whose meaning is still incomprehensible to a majority of Americans. Instead of seeing action chiefly in terms of exchanging people and stories, it should set as

its major goal the education of the young American in the basics of world relationships.

STONE, DONALD C. "Some Research and Action Needs in International Educational Exchange." *The Educational Record*, XXXIX (1958), 374-381.

The thesis of this article is that we need more appraisals of practices in international educational exchange which prove effective, as well as those which have adverse results. Above all, we need more application of what is already known. The author maintains that, if government agencies, foundations, and educational associations work together with colleges and universities toward this end, great progress can be made.

TABA, HILDA. *Cultural Attitudes and International Understanding: An Evaluation of an International Study Tour*. Occasional Paper No. 5. New York, Institute of International Education, 1953.

Contains observations and questioning by formal instruments of participants in a 1950 summer study tour to France and Geneva sponsored by the Association of International Relations Clubs. The Q-technique of factor analysis was applied to the study of changing stereotypes of France and the United States.

TEWKSBURY, DONALD G. "American Education and the International Scene." *Teachers College Record*, LX (1959), 357-368.

The writer discusses what we can expect as we look forward to the next decade in international education and what some of the promising lines of development are which in time can bring about a breakthrough in international education. He points out that educators must keep in touch with the forward-looking elements in American society if the educational enterprise in this country is to maintain its position of leadership and influence in times of social change.

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION. *Basic Facts and Figures: International Statistics Relating to Education, Culture, and Mass Communication*. 2nd edition. Paris, UNESCO, 1956.

First published in 1952, this second edition, based on official and other data from about 200 countries and territories, adds a table on consumption of paper. Figures are given on illiteracy; primary, secondary, and higher schools;

libraries and museums; books; and mass media. An appendix includes population and area statistics and exchange rates.

———. "Part I. Cross-Cultural Education and Educational Travel." *International Social Science Bulletin*, VIII (1956), 577-660.

The subject of cross-cultural education and study abroad is treated historically and then discussed on a world-wide basis and includes methods and results. Programs of the United States and Japan are described in some detail. A section is devoted to UNESCO's exchange of persons service.

———. *Report of the Director General on the Activities of the Organization in 1956*. Paris, UNESCO, 1956.

This report to Member States covers relations with those states and with international organizations; execution of the educational, natural science, social sciences, cultural activities, mass communication, exchange of persons programs, and expanded program of technical assistance; and administrative service. Appendices relate to membership, accredited delegates, nongovernmental organizations approved for consultative arrangements, contracts with international organizations, meetings of international nongovernmental organizations at which UNESCO was represented, criteria and conditions for aid to Member States, fellowships and study tour grants, and conferences and meetings in 1955.

———. *Report of the Director General on the Activities of the Organization in 1958*. Paris, UNESCO, 1958.

Report to Member States compiled for the General Conference at its Tenth Session in Paris in November-December, 1958. Contains information on government and private involvement in the international exchange-of-persons field.

———. *Report of the First International Conference on Educational Research, Atlantic City, New Jersey, U.S.A., February, 1956*. Educational Studies and Documents, No. 20. New York, Columbia University Press, 1956.

The American Educational Research Association, aided by UNESCO, sponsored and organized this First International Conference on Educational Research. Among the questions discussed by the educators was, "Can national research benefit from international cooperation, and if so, in what fields?"

———. *Study Abroad: International Handbook—Fellowships, Scholarships, Educational Exchange*. Vol. VIII. Paris, UNESCO, 1956.

Listed in English, French, and Spanish, are 74,000 opportunities for fellowships and scholarships in more than 100 countries and territories, including eight new donor countries. A report is given on foreign student enrollment in 56 countries and territories in 1954-1955. New features of Vol. VIII are: (1) services other than direct financial aid, and (2) teaching appointments abroad.

———. *Study Abroad: International Handbook—Fellowships, Scholarships, Educational Exchange*. Vol. XI. Paris, UNESCO, 1959.

This volume of *Study Abroad* contains information on fellowships, scholarships, and travel grants offered by international organizations, governments, foundations, universities, and other institutions, for study in 1959-1960. Over 90,000 individual opportunities are reported. Programs of 1200 awarding agencies in 111 states and territories are described. The handbook also contains statistical data on the country of origin, country of study, field of study, and sex of those who study abroad.

———. *Teaching Abroad*. Paris, UNESCO, 1956.

Information from all continents is given concerning 1300 persons—some stateless—wishing positions abroad. These individuals include teaching and research personnel in the various branches of science and learning at the various grades, and administrative personnel and technical staff for such institutions as libraries, museums, laboratories, and clinics. This pamphlet is a supplement to the *Bulletin of the International Association of Universities*.

UNITED STATES CONGRESS. Committee on Government Operations of the United States House of Representatives. *Government Programs in International Education (A Survey and Handbook): Forty-Second Report by the Committee on Government Operations*. 85th Congress, Second Session. House Report No. 2712. Union Calendar No. 1142. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1959.

Probably the most complete description available of United States Government exchange activities. In addition to presenting a

brief history of world-wide exchange activities, United States involvement in such activities, and a detailed account of the exchange programs in each of the Government's agencies, it also describes the exchange activities of international organizations and summarizes the exchange activities of the USSR, France, Germany, Great Britain, and other countries. A selected bibliography of relevant books, pamphlets, articles, and unpublished papers is also included.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, OFFICE OF EDUCATION. *International Educational Relations Branch. Education Around the World*. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office. Irregularly published papers.

Sources of current information on matters relating to international education. (1) February 10, 1960: Noteworthy articles are (a) "UNESCO's Program 1961-62," (b) "Soviet-U.S. Exchanges," and (c) "Polish-U.S. Exchanges." (2) May 25, 1960: Noteworthy articles are (a) "Education and the Development of the New Nations of Southeast Asia" (by Kenneth L. Neff), (b) "African Universities Program," (c) "1960 Summer Programs on Asia," (d) "Summer Study Tours," and (e) "Research and Documents Center."

— Division of International Education. *1957-58 Teacher Exchange Opportunities and Summer Seminars for American Elementary, Secondary, and Junior College Teachers Under the International Exchange Program*. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1956.

This annual announcement of teacher exchange opportunities for Americans and nationals of other countries under the amendment to the Surplus Property Act of 1944 known as the Fulbright Act (Public Law 584, 79th Congress, August 1, 1946) and the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 known as the Smith-Mundt Act (Public Law 402, 80th Congress, January 27, 1948) presents requirements for application and types and sizes of grants for 1957-58.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE. *Report on the Operations of the Department of State Under Public Law 584*. 86th Congress, Second Session. House Document No. 410. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1960.

This report is in the form of a letter from the Secretary of State, Christian A. Herter, transmitting an account of the "operations of the Department of State under Section 2 of Public Law 584 (79th Congress), the Fulbright Act." The report is in two parts: (1) Administration of the Program, and (2) Review of Activities, 1959. Appendices give statistical data on the exchanges with each country during the calendar year 1959. The text of an agreement with the United Arab Republic is also included.

— Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. *24th Semiannual Report to Congress, July 1-December 31, 1959: The Educational and Cultural Exchange Program*. Department of State Publication 7053. International Information and Cultural Series 74. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1960.

This is a report on the operations of the Department of State under Section 1008 of Public Law 402 (80th Congress) concerning educational and cultural exchange programs of the Department of State. This report summarizes the major program activities carried out during the first half of the 1960 fiscal year in the other American republics, in the Far East, in the Near East and South Asia, in Africa, and in Western and Eastern Europe.

— International Educational Exchange Service. *Educational Exchange Grants*. Department of State Publication 6419. International Information and Cultural Series 52. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1956.

This pamphlet describes the International Educational Exchange Program sponsored by the Department of State. It discusses the opportunities offered, the operation of the program, the selection of candidates, and the application procedures.

— *15th Semiannual Report to Congress: The International Educational Exchange Program 1955*. Department of State Publication 6323. International Information and Cultural Series 46. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1956.

This narrative report of the Program during the 1955 fiscal year under the Smith-Mundt Act (Public Law 402, 80th Congress, January 27, 1948) under which the United States engaged in cultural exchange with 76 countries,

shows how cooperation was attained with other programs. Information is included on the growth of American Studies as a part of European education. An appendix provides geographical breakdowns by country.

———. *17th Semiannual Report to Congress: Mutual Understanding in the Nuclear Age: The International Educational Exchange Program, 1956*. Department of State Publication 6469. International Information and Cultural Series 53. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1957.

This report on the International Educational Exchange Program conducted by the Department of State contains selected highlights of the year's achievements covering the period January 1 through June 30, 1956.

———. *18th Semiannual Report to Congress, July 1–December 31, 1956: The International Educational Exchange Program*. Department of State Publication 6530. International Information and Cultural Series 57. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1957.

This report on the International Educational Exchange Program conducted by the Department of State contains the highlights of exchange activities carried out during the first half of the 1957 fiscal year. The major sections of the report are: (1) Scope of the Program, and (2) Administering the Program.

———. *19th Semiannual Report to Congress: International Educational Exchange Program 1948–1958*. Department of State Publication 6647. International Information and Cultural Series 58. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1958.

This report marks the tenth anniversary of the enactment of the Smith-Mundt Act (1948). It reviews the educational exchange activities that were carried out during the critical period 1948 to 1958. The major topic of the report is "Communication through Personal Contact."

———. *20th Semiannual Report to Congress, July 1–December 31, 1957: The International Educational Exchange Program*. Department of State Publication 6723. International Information and Cultural Series 62. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1958.

This report summarizes the exchange activities carried out by the International Educational Exchange Service during the first half of fiscal year 1958. Of particular significance is section II, "Summary of Major Exchange Developments."

———. *21st Semiannual Report to Congress: International Educational Exchange Program, January 1–June 30, 1958*. Department of State Publication 6830. International Information and Cultural Series 66. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1959.

This report summarizes the exchange activities carried out by the International Educational Exchange Service during the second half of fiscal year 1958. Noteworthy is the expansion of the lecturer and research scholar program.

———. *22nd Semiannual Report to Congress, July 1–December 31, 1958: The International Educational Program*. Department of State Publication 6893. International Information and Cultural Series 71. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1959.

This report summarizes the exchange activities carried out by the International Educational Exchange Service during the first half of fiscal year 1959. Noteworthy are the exchanges with Eastern Europe.

———. *Swords into Plowshares: A New Venture in International Understanding*. Department of State Publication 6344. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1956.

This historical report on the Fulbright Act (Public Law 564, 79th Congress, August 1, 1946) and on its operations during 1955 contains detailed tables showing numbers and types of Americans and foreign grantees in the various fields of study, together with geographical origin and destination.

———. *The United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange. Twenty-first Semiannual Report to the Congress by the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange (July 1–December 31, 1958)*. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1959.

This report is divided into five sections: (1) Financial resources for the educational exchange program, (2) The cultural relations

program comes of age, (3) Appointment of special assistance to the Secretary of State for the coordination of international educational and cultural relations, (4) Proposal for obtaining expert guidance on educational exchange activities in Latin America, and (5) Educational exchange as carried out by Communist countries. Section 5 is particularly noteworthy. The appendix contains an article entitled "Twenty Years After: Two Decades of Government-Sponsored Cultural Relations" by F. J. Colligan, Director, Cultural and Planning Staff, Bureau of Public Affairs.

WEIDNER, EDWARD W. *The International Programs of American Universities*. East Lansing, Michigan, Michigan State University Press, 1958.

382 programs conducted by 184 U. S. colleges and universities are well catalogued in this first published report of the Institute on Overseas Programs, which is directed by Edward W. Weidner of Michigan State University and financed by the Carnegie Corporation. This book, which is a status study of exchange programs in 1957-1958, points up one of the complications of maintaining meaningful records of institutional activity in the international field. Exchange programs are constantly changing and evolving. To assure a comprehensive, current picture of exchange programs, such studies would have to be done at least every year and perhaps more often.

WILCOX, FRANCIS O. "Education for Overseasmanship." *National Education Association Journal*, XLVI (1957), 505.

The author maintains that many now in school will spend some portion of their lives

abroad as soldiers, technicians, government or business officials, educators, or tourists. Therefore, we today should be opening to them "new windows on the world—giving them what has been aptly described as 'education for overseasmanship.'"

WILSON, ELMO C., and FRANK BONILLA. "Evaluating Exchange of Persons Programs." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XIX (1955), 20-30.

General account of a series of highly competent but otherwise unpublished evaluation studies carried out for the International Educational Exchange Service of the U. S. Department of State by International Research Associates. Among them, before-and-after studies and studies assessing the positive effects in terms of program goals.

WOLF, FRANK E. "Education in Burma: No Blackboard Jungle." *Science Education*, XLIII (1959), 263-267.

This article is based on the author's observations as Fulbright teacher in Bassein, Burma, and as supervisor of science for Irrawaddy Educational Division, one of seven such divisions in Burma. The author points out that devoted teachers in both the United States and in Burma will do a good job regardless of obstacles: shortages, problems, and frustrations.

WOODY, THOMAS. "The Trends Toward International Education." *School and Society*, LXXXIII (1956), 19-23.

The author gives an overview of educational history in the western world showing a fitful movement from provincialism toward world education.

Comparative philosophy is concerned with a bewildering multitude of philosophical systems, doctrines, schools, and patterns of philosophy, as they are revealed in the history of Eastern and Western thought. Various comparative procedures have been adopted to approach this complex material. Comparison is not a mere juxtaposition of items. In the comparative method attention is selectively focussed on some particular details, while other details are disregarded. Comparison always means deliberate rearrangement of the items to be compared. Comparison means distinguishing, i.e. observing similarities and differences, correlating and viewing a given multitude of facts within an orderly perspective.—KWEI SWAN LIAT, *Methods of Comparative Philosophy* (1953), pages 112-113.

BOOK REVIEWS

LEO ORLEANS. *Professional Manpower and Education in Communist China*. Washington, D.C.: National Science Foundation, 1961. 260 pp. \$2.00.

Even within the exciting world of Soviet-bloc research there are only a few areas as thoroughly interesting as the problems of Communist Chinese Education.

As one of the first pioneering efforts in this field, Leo Orleans' book is particularly welcome. This book is not Mr. Orleans' first venture into the field of exploring things Chinese. A demographer by profession, he has for many years been engaged in research on population problems of Communist China, and has published numerous articles on the subject.¹ His new study, the result of more than two years of research and of more than four years of collecting material, attempts to analyze the characteristics and training of professional manpower and their relationship to the technological development of Communist China.

The study, which was financed by the National Science Foundation, reminds us both in its format and its organization of another book published years ago under the same auspices. That was Nicholas DeWitt's *Soviet Professional Manpower* (1955). The greatest difficulty Mr. DeWitt had to overcome when preparing the first edition of his book was the scarcity of materials. The new edition (to be published in the near future) will reflect the remarkable improvement in this situation. The flow of data on almost every aspect of Soviet life during the past five years or so is still a source of envy to the researcher dealing with Chinese problems.

In the preface to his new book, Mr. Orleans elaborates on the regrettable scarcity

¹ Some of the articles published by the author on population problems of Communist China are: "The 1953 Chinese Census in Perspective," *Journal of Asian Studies*, August 1957; "The Recent Growth of China's Urban Population," *Geographical Review*, January 1959; "Birth Control: Reversal or Postponement?," *China Quarterly*, July-September 1960.

of statistical and other data coming out of Communist China as well as on their relative value. This reviewer cannot but agree with him that the condition of the material and the propagandistic nature of its presentation make it very difficult to give a reliable picture of the development and present condition of Chinese education. This is particularly true of the years since 1958, when the "great leap forward" brought an unprecedented chaos in the educational picture which, to our best knowledge, has not showed much improvement to this day.

As its title indicates, Mr. Orleans' book treats two different although inter-related subjects: education and manpower. The book is divided into "Introduction and Highlights," "Primary and Secondary Education," "Higher Education," "Science and Technology," "Professional Manpower," and a separate chapter on the population problem and its relation to the labor force. "Communist Educational Policies and Problems" and the "Quality of Education" are discussed in separate chapters.

Even this simple enumeration of the contents will suggest that each of these subjects received only a somewhat superficial treatment. In a book of 166 text pages it could not be otherwise.

The virtue of the study is that it attempts to fill a gap: It tries to give a comprehensive account of every level and every aspect of the educational process. A desire to do so is justified since, as we have already indicated, before this time there existed no such account available under a single cover. This attempt to be comprehensive is, however, also the source of its superficiality and most of its mistakes. While trying to give an idea of education and manpower training as a whole, the author overlooks and misinterprets many small details which, if taken individually, are also important. Another result was that the book is overweighted with statistical material which makes it forbidding reading for anyone but the expert.

One can hardly escape the idea that the author, considering the uniqueness of his book, tried to include every bit of data he could lay his hand on. Statistics are no doubt useful for the better illustration of the material. Their use, however, should be restricted to the necessary minimum, and every table should, if possible, be explained in the text. Much of the detailed statistics concerning pre-communist education could have, according to this reviewer, been bypassed or mentioned only in the text.

Somewhat similar is the impression one gains when looking at the appendices that take up 78 pages at the end of the volume. While some of the material included here is relevant, like the "Tables on Education" and the "Sample Curriculums" for elementary, secondary, and normal schools, one can hardly see the reason for including the "Regulations Governing Enrollment of New Students by Institutions of Higher Education in 1959" or the lengthy "Outlines of Selected Examinations for Matriculation to Institutions of Higher Education for 1959" which, not being in line with professional manpower training, can receive only little interest in this context. The expert for whom these documents are of considerable value can find them in the Chinese press surveys published by the U. S. Consulate General in Hong Kong, which are available in most major libraries of this country. This reviewer is still at a loss as to why it was necessary to include the "Constitution of the All-China Federation of Students" as part of the appendix. Somewhat more justified was the reprinting of a "complete" list of higher educational institutions of Mainland China as listed by the Communists in early 1957 (also taken from the Hong Kong Consulate General translations). While such a list is undoubtedly useful it reflects only one particular academic year and does not in any way show the gradual gains in the number of existing higher educational institutions that took place over a number of years. The most useful and most original among the appendices is a list of the scientific research institutions affiliated with the Chinese Academy of Sciences as well as with the Acad-

emies of Medical and Agricultural Sciences. This list was compiled from various Communist Chinese sources by Mr. Wang Chi of the Library of Congress for use in a projected publication of his own and was his contribution to the book (Appendix I, pp. 240-247).

One of the most exciting problems of manpower research in Communist China is to try to determine the extent of Soviet aid and its influence on Chinese achievements. Mr. Orleans discusses Soviet cooperation in both education in general and in the fields of science and technology. Since, however, the actual writing of the book was completed in about mid-1960, the mass withdrawal of Soviet experts that reportedly took place later that year as a consequence of deteriorating Chinese-Soviet relations could not be considered. The question as to how this move has affected the manpower output of Communist China therefore remains to be answered.

As he points out in the Preface, Mr. Orleans did not, and indeed could not, answer all questions in the field of Chinese education. Nonetheless, the author has set a good example for others to follow, and in doing so has performed a valuable service in the area of comparative education.

JOSEPH C. KUN

PH. J. IDENBURG. *Schets Van Het Nederlandse Schoolwezen (Outline of Schooling in the Netherlands)*. Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1960. 594 pp. Fl. 25.

H. W. F. STELLWAG AND P. C. VAN DE GRIEND. *De Leraarsopleiding: Knelpunt Of Raakvlak Tussen Universiteit En V.H.M.O. (The Training of the Academic Secondary School Teacher: Source of Friction or Harmony between University and Secondary School Studies)*. Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1959 (?). 164 pp. Fl. 8.90.

Two recent books from the Netherlands deserve the attention of comparative educators. Philip Idenburg has made a comprehensive study of the historical background, structure, and functioning of the Dutch educational

system, frequently viewed in the light of foreign analogues. H. W. F. Stellwag and P. C. van de Griend have analyzed the problems of the preparation of secondary school teachers in Holland with the assistance of comparative data on Germany and England.

Area studies are the indispensable raw material for comparative education. A good area study furnishes raw material in some stage of refinement so that it may be readily combined or contrasted with the material on other areas. Professor Idenburg's book more than satisfies this requirement.

Sometimes his themes are latently comparative, that is, suggestive of hypotheses which may be fruitfully tested in other countries. To cite an example: in the chapter called "General Education and the Demands of Life" (one of five foundational chapters), some observations are made on the decline of continuation education (evening general education for those who had completed their compulsory elementary education). The decline has been paralleled by a remarkable growth of evening vocational education. Thus it is not unwillingness to pursue further education but the meager appeal of the continuation school curriculum, frequently a repetition of the elementary curriculum, and the considerable appeal of the rewards for higher vocational skill that have caused working youth to forsake continuation education. To what extent is a similar analysis applicable to other countries? And assuming the hypothesis passes the comparative test, what general principles can be formulated for the conduct of continuation education? The first question is of theoretical interest, the second of practical interest; both are legitimate concerns of the comparative educator.

Professor Idenburg's book is not only latently comparative; it includes numerous explicit comparative references. For instance, in the conclusion of the lengthy section devoted to the pedagogical (as contrasted with administrative) structure of Dutch education the author describes how various countries are attempting to meet the problem of selection (or better, differentiation) at the end of primary education. The Leicestershire ex-

periment in England and the French cycle *d'observation* are forms of the intermediate school, a concept which has received attention in the Netherlands but no longer plays an important role in plans for educational reform. The closest that Holland comes to the idea of the intermediate school is in the plan for the "bridge year," a transition year at the start of various types of postprimary education. But since selection (or differentiation) is to precede entrance to the bridge year, that year will not have the same significance as a common intermediate education in a school established for that purpose.

The book is marked by the depth of its analysis of several issues at the heart of educational theory. One of these is the issue of the religious/moral dimension of education. Holland, with complete parity of support and recognition for nonpublic (generally religious) schools, still has not been able to escape the problem of the moral and religious development of children in the non-sectarian public school. The public schools are entrusted with the task of developing "Christian and social virtues" (Art. 42, Law of 1920), yet the spiritual source of the Christian society of the West, the Bible, even as history, is not included in the curriculum. Professor Idenburg's opinion is that the conditions placed on the teaching of Bible history by various religious groups will effectively prevent its inclusion even as an optional study. But the dilemma is not likely to remain unchallenged. The author adduces evidence that the religious/moral formation of the public school pupil has in recent years become a live issue.

Occasionally Professor Idenburg proposes norms derived from comparative analysis, as when he suggests that Holland should emulate the spirit of English educational administration, which is the spirit of confidence in the ability of educational personnel to promote desired ends in the absence of detailed regulations imposed from above. Holland too often operates on the assumption that the wisest decision will be that of the Ministry.

The same note is struck in the second book under discussion here. In their pro-

posals for reform of the training of academic secondary school teachers, the authors, H. W. F. Stellwag and P. C. van de Griend, suggest that England can instruct Holland in the philosophy that sees self-discipline and good sense acting as guarantors of large investments in freedom of thought and decision for individuals.

The problem which the authors are examining in comparative perspective is that of integrating content and method in the training of secondary school teachers. How—that is, on what theoretical basis and through what institutional arrangements and personnel—is the university student to learn the art of translating the knowledge of his field of study into the educationally correct idiom for the secondary school? The question is not answered in rigorously comparative fashion. In fact, most of the book's conclusions emerge in the early chapters dealing with Holland alone. The effect of the chapters devoted to England and Germany is to give tangible form to ideas discussed earlier. Holland itself could not provide sufficient specific lessons on the subject because the country is still at a very early stage in the development of pedagogical training for academic secondary school teachers.

The section on Germany is richer than that on England because it includes firsthand observations of the system in operation. It stands out, for this reader, as the most valuable part of the book, overshadowing even the chapters on Holland, which were too abstract to leave a clear impression.

DONALD J. WEEREN

ANTHONY J. C. KERR. *Schools of Europe*. London: Bowes and Bowes, 1960. 292 pp. 25/-.

Mr. Kerr's statement of his purpose in writing *Schools of Europe* is modest; it is "to describe rather than to discuss." In addition he wants to know what Britain can learn "from what others are doing" and what the British "can show them" (page 9). In his attempt to meet these objectives he covers a great deal of territory. Aspects of the primary and secondary schools in over 30 European

countries (including the USSR) are described. Some specific issues like teacher training, curricula and inspection, the education of minority groups, and boarding and experimental schools are treated on a European basis. His appendices include recent developments and reforms under consideration in various countries, some statistics, and a proposal for a General Educational Council for England. Since all this information is packed into less than 300 pages there are features of the *Schools of Europe* which remind the reviewer of a substantial guide book—of value to the uninitiated, but highly selective and rarely providing the informed traveller with new information.

Some aspects of Mr. Kerr's methods of comparative study would, however, have met with the approval of Victor Cousin. He wrote "first of all to the appropriate Cultural Attaché or Ministry of Education for suitable pamphlets" (page 10). Cousin, incidentally, would have consulted basic legislation. Then Mr. Kerr travelled to each country, visited certain schools, and talked to "Ministry officials, schoolmasters, inspectors, parents and anyone else who had anything to say about education . . ." (page 10). In this way he was presumably able to see how far practice was in accordance with theory. Finally, he had tentative versions of each chapter checked by competent authorities in the countries concerned. All are admirable procedures. There are several grounds on which Mr. Kerr's methodology might be questioned, however. First, he is always consciously striving to make explicit comparisons and to find European equivalents of British schools. These attempts give rise to sweeping generalizations about academic standards and about "national character." Although the author implicitly disclaims any intention on his part to judge the quality of education in various countries he frequently does so. One example might serve to illustrate a tendency which is to be found throughout the book. The secondary schools of the southern countries, he states, "are better in some respects than those of the northern group and their illiterates are more intelligent. An educated Swede *knows*: an

educated Italian *thinks*: an illiterate Norwegian is almost certainly a moron and probably a drunken moron at that: an illiterate Spaniard is probably illiterate because there was no school for him to attend, although he may be a delightful fellow . . ." (page 15). To draw attention to such general evaluations is not to maintain that they are useless. National character has been used as a basis of comparative analysis by several authors. Yet it seems desirable in comparative education to establish and state far more rigorous criteria of comparison than are employed by Mr. Kerr.

The other feature of this book is of interest methodologically. Like many nineteenth-century pioneers of comparative education—Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, William Torrey Harris, Matthew Arnold, and Michael Sadler—Mr. Kerr is a reformer. He not only advocates reforms for English education but makes two recommendations for the whole of Europe. The first of these urges that the employment of secondary and perhaps primary school teachers in countries other than their own should be facilitated (page 243). The second recommendation is for a European standing conference of permanent officials from the various ministries of education. The conference would be able to organize teacher exchanges, recognize equivalent qualifications, and help raise the standards of education in countries where these are rather low. It is interesting to speculate, as the economic and political unification of Europe becomes a possibility, whether such a proposal is merely an idle dream.

Methodologically, the justification Mr. Kerr provides for his proposed reforms is of interest. He relies on his own opinions and the views of educators with whom he spoke. There is no rigorous attempt to indicate the possible consequences—social, political, economic, and educational—which might flow from the introduction into an educational system of new institutions or policies. The nineteenth-century comparative educators realized the difficulties and dangers of selective cultural borrowing. Sir Michael Sadler's essays are of particular interest because in his sociological approach to the study of education he was aware that *all*, and not merely a few, of the possible consequences of educational borrowing should be considered.

Apart from Mr. Kerr's own, and somewhat refreshing observations and interpretations, most of the information presented in the *Schools of Europe* can be obtained from publications of UNESCO, the International Bureau of Education in Geneva, and from ministry of education sources in the various countries. Nevertheless it is useful to have snippets of information brought together in one book: particularly for students being introduced to the study of comparative education. As an elementary textbook it will pass muster. Its contribution to the study of comparative education and to an understanding of the major problems facing European education today is minimal. And it is of rigorously analytical rather than descriptive type of book that comparative education seems in most need today.

BRIAN HOLMES

on Mr.
ms is of
ons and
e spoke.
cate the
cal, eco-
ght flow
ucational
ies. The
ducators
s of se-
ael Sad-
because
study of
and not
equences
consid-

d some-
terpreta-
ented in
ed from
national
nd from
various
to have
gether in
being in-
e educa-
will pass
of com-
standing
ean edu-
of rigor-
ive type
n seems

OLMES

ber 1961